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MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

RALPH WARDLAW, D.D.

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

RALPH WARDLAW, D.D.

BY

WILLIAM LINDSAY ALEXANDER, D.D.

Equidem beatos puto quibus datum est aut facere scribenda, aut scribere legenda; beatissimos vero quibus utrumque.—*Plinius, ep. vi.* 16.

EDINBURGH:
ADAM AND CHARLES BLACK, NORTH BRIDGE.
MDCCCLVI.

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PREFACE.

WHEN the representatives of the late Dr. Wardlaw first requested me to become his biographer, I felt constrained to decline to undertake the duty. To this I was moved, not by any insensibility to the honour which the making of such a request conferred upon me, still less by any unwillingness to do aught that lay in my power to serve the memory of that honoured and beloved friend, but by two reasons of a kind which seemed to disqualify me for the office I was invited to assume. The one of these was, that I had already upon my shoulders a burden of engagements, official and literary, which seemed to preclude the possibility of my accomplishing the work required within any reasonable period; the other was that, holding upon several points views different from those advocated by Dr. Wardlaw in some of his published writings, I feared lest, in describing his literary efforts, I should be constrained to display a greater amount of dissent from his opinions than is desirable on the part of a biographer in relation to his subject. On stating these reasons, however, to the friends who had requested

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me to write his Life, they did not appear to them to possess sufficient force to constrain me to decline that duty, and they accordingly again pressed it upon me. Thus urged I consented; and I refer to this matter now simply for the purpose of accounting for two things which, to some of Dr. Wardlaw's friends, may seem to require explanation—the one the length of time which has elapsed between his decease and the publication of these memoirs, the other the freedom with which I have criticised some of his published opinions. The former I could not possibly help; the latter I have used as sparingly as a regard to my own convictions would allow.

In attempting to discharge the duty which had thus been laid upon me, I have found greater difficulty than I anticipated. Dr. Wardlaw on principle kept no diary or journal, not even of the simplest kind, and though multitudes of his letters remain, yet they seldom contain anything about himself. This, which is characteristic of the man, with whom self was ever an object invariably postponed to other considerations, has cut off from his biographer a fruitful source of interest in works of this kind, and has impeded his path with many difficulties. With these I have contended as I best could, drawing from his letters what few incidents they contained, and piecing together the disjointed fragments of information I have been able to gather from this and from other sources into such a continuous narrative as I could frame. I have sought

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also to give interest and variety to the narrative by inserting numerous extracts from Dr. Wardlaw's correspondence. In selecting these from the immense mass of letters which I have had before me, I have been guided principally by a regard to the light they were calculated to throw on the personal history, the habits, the character, and the opinions of the writer.

"As the life of a great man," says a recent writer, one of the few remaining lights of Italy, "is in the general composed of the history of his thoughts and his actions, that of a great writer in particular is composed solely of the history of his thoughts."* This remark holds strictly true of such a life as that of Dr. Wardlaw. His biography is the history of his mental efforts, whether from the pulpit or the press. To give the history of his mind then—the history of his training, his studies, his opinions, his labours as a preacher, and his publications as an author, is most effectively to write his Life. This it has been my supreme aim to accomplish, without neglecting those events which constitute the history of his outer life, or overlooking those minor incidents which often so strikingly elucidate character.

To the many friends of Dr. Wardlaw who have kindly aided me in my undertaking by submitting to my inspection and use letters of his in their possession, I beg to express my sincere obligations. My thanks

* Come la vita de un grande uomo in generale si compone della storia de' suoi pensiere e della sue azioni, quella de un grande scrittore in particolare si compone della storia solamente de' suoi pensiere.—Ant. Ranieri Vit. di Leopardi, p. 28.

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are especially due to the Rev. Dr. Muir of Glasgow—the oldest of Dr. Wardlaw's surviving acquaintances—to the Rev. Dr. Burder of London—his faithful friend and correspondent for nearly half a century—to the Rev. Dr. Morison of Chelsea, the Rev. J. Kennedy of Stepney, the Rev. Dr. Macfarlane of Glasgow, the Rev. Dr. M'Kelvie of Balgedie, Wm. Wardlaw, Esq., Glasgow, and the Rev. John Smith Wardlaw of Bellary; who have materially assisted me either by their reminiscences of the deceased, or by procuring for me important information respecting him.

I issue this volume with feelings that lead me to say most unaffectedly, "Would it were worthier!" Most gratefully, at the same time, would I acknowledge the grace which has sustained me under the accumulated labours amidst which I have had to compose it; and now that the work is done, I sincerely thank those who urged me to undertake it, and who have thereby privileged me to unite my name with that of one of the best men and greatest theologians of the nineteenth century.

Pinkie-Burn House,
23d January 1856.

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MEMOIRS OF DR. WARDLAW.

CHAPTER I.

A. D. 1779—A. D. 1795.

RALPH WARDLAW was the son of William and Anne Wardlaw, and was born at Dalkeith, in the county of Mid-Lothian, on the 22d of December 1779.

The place of his nativity is a respectable country town, the centre of an extensive and wealthy agricultural and mining district. It lies about six miles to the south of Edinburgh, and has a weekly market at which a considerable amount of business is transacted, especially in the sale of grain. Dalkeith Palace, the seat of the Dukes of Buccleuch, with its magnificent parks and gardens, adjoins the town. On the site of the palace, which is picturesquely placed upon a rock descending almost perpendicularly to the river Esk, stood the ancient castle of Dalkeith, the residence of the noble family of Morton for several centuries. Hither the able but unprincipled Regent Morton retreated when driven from power by popular odium and the machinations of his enemies. Here many refugees from the disastrous battle of Pinkie found protection, until the garrison, closely besieged by the English and straitened for provisions, were obliged to capitulate. Here also, at a later period, Monk fixed his head-quarters, when left by Cromwell in Scotland to complete the work which the battle of Dunbar had begun. The place has thus somewhat of historical, as well as of commercial interest, whilst the beauty of the surrounding scenery adds to it attractions of another kind. But of those who read this book, perhaps the greater part will be of

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opinion that the most interesting fact connected with it is that it was the birthplace of him whose history I propose to narrate.

By the father's side Ralph Wardlaw was connected with the ancient Anglo-Saxon house of Wardlaw of Pitreavie in Fife; the same which, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, furnished a distinguished benefactor to his country in the person of Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, who, besides other acts of public utility, was the founder of the university in that city, the most ancient of the Scottish seats of learning.* To the same house belonged, at a later period, "that worthie and religious gentleman," (as Calderwood terms him) Mr. Patrick Wardlaw, Laird of Torrie, who took a prominent part in the opposition offered by the mass of the Scottish people to the imposition of episcopal rites and jurisdiction in the early part of the seventeenth century.† I have not traced Dr. Wardlaw's genealogy, in this line, beyond his grandfather, John Wardlaw, who was a merchant in Dalkeith, and who married in 1736 Beatrice Gray, daughter of a banker in Musselburgh, by whom he had a family of several children.

By the mother's side, Dr. Wardlaw's descent may be said to be illustrious, both in a religious and in a worldly point of view. Her maiden name was Fisher; she was the daughter of the Rev. James Fisher, one of the four brethren who founded the Scottish Secession Church, and for many years Professor of Divinity to that body. He was a man of excellent judgment, stedfast zeal, and enlightened piety; eminent in the pulpit both for the matter and the manner of his discourses; sagacious in counsel; and, as a theological professor, distinguished for the clearness, precision,

* Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 112, Russell's edit. Henry Wardlaw appears to have been in most respects superior to the ordinary run of the Scottish prelates before the Reformation; but he was not superior to the cruel and blinding influences of that system of spiritual tyranny to which he belonged. The blood of the first martyrs in Scotland to the cause of Reformation in the Church lies at his door. Resby and Craw, who had imbibed the doctrines of Wycliffe and Hus, were tried for heresy under his authority, and condemned to the flames.—Spottiswoode, *ubi sup.;* Foxe's Book of Martyrs, b. vi. p. 345, Seymour's edit.; Knox's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 6, Laing's edit., and Appendix, No. ii.

† Calderwood's Historie, vol. vii. p. 443, Wodrow Society edit.

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and fluency with which he prelected on the truths of revelation. He was the successor in the theological chair of his father-in-law, the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, the leader of that small but noble band, which, in 1733, after being extruded from a tyrannical and corrupt church, whose evils they had in vain striven to correct, formed themselves into the Associate Presbytery, and who in consequence is justly honoured as the father of the Secession Church. Mr. Fisher's wife was Jean, the eldest daughter of Mr. Erskine. Through his father, the Rev. Henry Erskine, son of Ralph Erskine of Shielfield, Ebenezer Erskine was connected with the noble family of Mar; and through his mother—Margaret Halcro, "ex illustri et perantiqua stirpe prognata," as the inscription on her tombstone at Scotlandwell, in the parish of Portmoak, expresses it—he counted a still higher lineage, a lineage connecting him on the one side with the royal blood of Scotland, and on the other passing up into the fabulous antiquity of Scandinavian genealogy.*

There are some people who say they attach no importance to a man's descent or to family honours, and despise those who do. Perhaps they may be sincere; but I cannot help thinking their judgment in this matter erroneous, and their feeling unnatural. "The glory of children," says the wisest of men, "are their fathers;" and I do not see why an honourable descent should not be valued, as well as any other blessing of Providence. At any rate, I must confess that it affords to me a singular pleasure to be able thus to trace the lineage of one whom I respected as one of the first of living theologians, and admired as a model of Christian courtesy, through an ancestry in which the distinctions arising from eminence of rank and eminence in sacred learning are so curiously intermingled.†

Anne Fisher was Mr. Wardlaw's second wife. His former

* See Fraser's Life of Ebenezer Erskine, pp. 40, 496, 500, 516, &c.; MacKerrow's History of the Secession Church, p. 551, edit. 1841. "It is rather a remarkable coincidence," writes Mr. William Wardlaw of Glasgow, "that Mr. Erskine died in his seventy-fourth year, and in the fifty-first of his ministry, in 1753; and his great-grandson (my father) died also in his seventy-fourth year, in the fifty-first of his ministry, in 1853." † See Appendix A.

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partner's maiden name was Hannah Laurie; she was a daughter of Gilbert Laurie, Esq. of Crossrig, and half-sister of Gilbert Laurie, who was Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1766 and 1767. They were married in March 1766; she only survived about two years, leaving at her death two sons, of whom the eldest was afterwards a merchant in Glasgow.* Mr. Wardlaw's marriage with Miss Fisher took place in February 1773. Their family consisted of seven sons and one daughter, viz., 1. William, born 1774; died July 1796. 2. Jeanie, born 1775; died 1777. 3. Walter, born 1777; died February 1836. 4. RALPH, the subject of this memoir. 5. Robert, born 1781; died March 1839. 6. John, born 1782; died June 1812. 7. James Fisher, born 1784; died 1789. 8. A twin-brother of the last, who did not survive.

Of this large family, it will be seen, only five attained maturity; and of these, William, the eldest, was cut off in early manhood, just as he was embarking in business, and after giving excellent promise of a life adorned with many graces and virtues, had he been spared.† Walter and Robert were also engaged in mercantile pursuits; the latter was, for a number of years, connected with the management of the Herald newspaper, and for some time was a partner in that property. John, after being occupied for some time in business, entered the army, and was killed at the battle of Salamanca, under circumstances which will

* Hannah Laurie's mother was Mary Gillespie, daughter of Thomas Gillespie, brewer in Peffer-Miln, and sister of the Rev. Thomas Gillespie, who was deposed by the General Assembly from the parish of Carnock in 1752, for refusing to concur in the settlement of a minister in opposition to the will of the people. He was afterwards, for several years, minister at Dunfermline, and died in 1774.

† The following notice of this amiable youth appeared in one of the journals of the day:—"Died on the 29th July 1796, Mr. Wm. Wardlaw Jun., of Charlotte Street, a young man of distinguished worth and excellence. Though only in the noon of life, his mind was richly stored with various and useful knowledge. His manners were gentle and engaging; his air and personal appearance in a high degree modest and graceful. Deeply convinced of the truth of Christianity, he manifested its benign influence in a cheerful serenity of temper, diffusive benevolence, and genuine, unaffected piety. These, embellished by other pleasing and ornamental accomplishments, form the outlines of this singularly amiable character, which will long remain deeply imprinted in the memory of his friends, and of all who knew him."

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be noticed subsequently. The subject of this memoir survived the entire family of which he was a member.

It may be proper here to notice, as there will be occasion afterwards to refer to the connection, that a sister of Mrs. Wardlaw, Margaret Fisher, was married to Walter Ewing Maclae, of Cathkin, Esq., who thus stood in the relation of uncle to Mr. Wardlaw's children.

About six months after the birth of his son Ralph, Mr. Wardlaw removed to Glasgow, where the remainder of his life was passed. He became a burgess and guild brother of that city in 1786, and a matriculated member of the Merchants' House in the following year. Universally respected as a citizen and as a merchant, he attained civic honours as one of the bailies of the city, at a time when such honours were a tolerably certain index both of personal character and social status.

Of Ralph Wardlaw's early years I have been able to collect only a few scattered notices. His education was conducted at the public schools of the city. His first teacher was a Mr. Cunningham, whose school was reached by a street bearing the unpropitious name of "Balaam's Passage;" and here he learned his alphabet, on the same form with a little girl who afterwards became the endeared partner of his life.* He entered the grammar school when eight years of age. Here he was under the instructions of Mr. D. MacArthur, a diligent teacher, as well as a sound scholar. To what extent his studies were carried in this institution I am not able precisely to state; but I presume that, in addition to the ordinary elementary branches, he was conducted some length into the domain of classical learning. That he was a well conducted scholar, whose attendance was punctual, demeanour respectful, and appointed work conscientiously prepared, is attested by the prizes he won, and the commendations he received from his teacher. His severer studies were diversified by lessons in drawing, of which he was very fond, and in which he gave promise of excellence had he continued to cultivate the

* Recollections of Dr. Wardlaw, in the Glasgow Young Men's Magazine for February 1854.

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art. As a trait of his early conscientiousness, it is remembered, in connection with his attendance at the drawing-school, that he would never say that any drawing was his, if the master had done anything to it, though it were but the adding of a few strokes. There is something fine in this as showing in the boy that spirit of independence and high sense of honour which, in after life, became so conspicuously displayed in the man. Man or boy, it was in himself as he was, and not as adorned by another man's plumes, that he wished to be known.

The most important part of a child's education is that which he receives in the domestic circle. The lessons of the family-board and the fireside sink deepest into the heart and exert the most powerful and lasting influence upon the future character. There may be little of the *form* of teaching—the less, perhaps, the better; but no child can live in a household, and come under the influence of older minds in the free and loving intercourse of family life, without receiving impressions and convictions which will powerfully mould, for good or for evil, his whole mental and moral development.

The domestic influences under which Ralph Wardlaw was placed were of the happiest kind. It was his misfortune, indeed, at an early age to be deprived of his excellent mother, who died with her twin child in 1784, when Ralph was only in his sixth year; but, during these tender years, there was time for many sweet and hallowed impressions to be left by such a mother on the mind of such a child. Her place in the household was supplied by an unmarried sister of Mr. Wardlaw, to whose mother-like kindness, good sense, enlightened piety, and wise discipline, her nephews owed much both of juvenile happiness and of future excellence. But it was from Mr. Wardlaw himself that his sons, especially Ralph, received the most important mental and moral influences. He was a man who united, in a remarkable degree, tenderness of affection and cheerfulness of temperament with conscientious attention to duty, earnest and deep-rooted piety, inflexible rectitude in all his modes of thought and conduct, and imperturbable firmness in the management of all matters

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that came under his hand. He was also a man of more than usual intellectual culture; was fond of books, and knew how to use them; could appreciate the treasures of classical literature; and was so familiar with the New Testament in its original tongue that he used to have it read to him every morning whilst he was engaged in the process of dressing. To the courtly and somewhat formal manners of the old school he added a cheerful vivacity which saved them from all stiffness; whilst there was an activity and progressiveness about him which bespoke a living sympathy with the energetic, questioning, and advancing age to which he had survived. Among other excellent qualities which, as a business man, secured him the confidence and respect of those with whom he came in contact, was his strict punctuality. On this head I find the following anecdote of him, recorded by his son in a letter to his own grandson, under date of February 16th, 1846. "When he was President of the Committee of the Glasgow Missionary Society, he happened one day to be at the place of meeting first, and was in his seat before any of the members appeared; the first that entered bowed, with a friendly smile, and paid him this handsome compliment:—'Tell me where he *should be*, and I will tell you where he *is*.'"

After the death of his mother, Ralph was for many years much with his father, who assisted him in his studies and laboured anxiously to store his mind with useful knowledge and pure and holy principles. Nor was this labour bestowed in vain; the good seed fell into good soil. Gifted with a quick intelligence the child early appreciated the wise counsels and sympathized with the literary tastes of the parent; and when, after he had sufficiently become master of the Greek, he assumed the post of reader of the New Testament during his father's morning toilette, the exercise gave birth to observations on the part of the senior which sank deep into the heart of the boy and became the germ of his future religious life. A strong bond of love and piety seems ever to have united the two. The father's affectionate care was met and responded to by the most assiduous tenderness and obedience on the part of the son. To

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this Mr. Wardlaw gave a striking testimony at a later period, after hearing his son preach a sermon on the duty of obedience to parents. The preacher having, in the course of this sermon, depicted, in strong and graphic terms, the misery, as well as guilt of disobedience, his father turned to Mrs. Wardlaw, who was sitting by him in the pew, and exclaimed, "He never learnt that by experience, for he was a child who *never* disobeyed me, or gave me one moment's uneasiness." To his aunt, also, his attentions were most affectionately rendered. This excellent lady's eyesight was imperfect; and it was the pride and pleasure of her nephew to be her guide, as occasion demanded, through the streets. A lady still living tells me that she has a vivid recollection of seeing him, a sprightly and graceful boy, thus engaged, and admiring how carefully and kindly he guided his aunt, timing his steps to hers, and leading her round any impediment that lay in the way—a service much more necessary at the period referred to, when the streets were not well paved or cleaned, and outer stairs and jutting steps encumbered the path, than it would be now. His sweetness of temper, indeed, and gentleness of bearing to all were so conspicuous, that, though not the youngest in the family (to whose lot such pet titles usually fall), he went by the name of "the lamb" in his father's household.

We shall err, however, if we suppose that this gentleness and orderly submissiveness were secured by the sacrifice of that vivacity, playfulness, and activity which are the natural as well as the precious heritage of a child. I cannot think of him as one of those tame, pithless, spiritless boys, who are always quiet and well-behaved; who preserve throughout the day a spotless dress and an unrumpled collar; who are the pride of prim nursery-maids, the joy of aged unmarried aunts, and the favourites of self-indulgent bachelors; who have a precocious perception of the proprieties, and a premature tendency towards the sublime of mediocrity. I rather picture to myself a bright-faced, merry boy, full of energy and fun, fond of muscular activity, an adept at bat and ball, not innocent of a few tricks and practical jokes at times, but ever open and truthful, ever ready to consult the

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wishes of those to whom he owed obedience, with a manly sense of duty restraining and regulating his native vivacity, and with a deep fountain of natural affection which made it a pleasant thing for him to subordinate personal inclination to the convenience or comfort of those around him. I arrive at this belief, on the principle that the "child is father of the man," from certain characteristics which were not far to seek in his matured development, and also from the opinions he was wont to express as to what he thought desirable in the habits of children. In a letter to his grandson, written when he was far advanced in life, he thus unfolds his views on this subject:—"Persevere, my dear boy. You have not trifled, and you will not trifle. And when I say this, you will not suppose me so unreasonable as to expect that you should be *always at the desk*. I don't wish that. I would command the contrary. Your esteemed teacher knows well how essential *health* is to *study*—the *sanum corpus* to the *sana mens*. I'll tell you what I like. I like to see a boy put *spirit* into both his learning and his recreation—his books and his play; so that he can not only put the books out of his mind when he is at the play (there is no great difficulty in that), but put the play too out of his mind when he is at the books. This is the way to make both serve most effectually their respective ends."* These are wise, no less than kind words; and I quote them here, because I believe that what he thus declares he "liked" at the age of 64, was very much what he had practised when himself a boy.

After remaining four years at the grammar school, he entered the University of Glasgow, at the commencement of the session in October 1791. He was at this time not quite twelve years of age. To enter college at so early an age, may appear preposterous to those who are not aware that at that time (and still, unhappily, to a great degree this is the case), the Latin and Greek classes in the Scottish Universities supplied the place of mere higher schools, where the elementary tuition commenced in the grammar school was carried forward a few stages. To remedy the

* Letter to Mr. W. Wardlaw Reid, 19th September 1843.

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evils of such a system, and to afford something that should be entitled to the name of academical prelection in these departments, some of the more zealous professors, who were imbued with a love of learning and had themselves advanced beyond the frontier provinces of classical literature, added to their public classes a private class, in which the higher branches of philology and the reading of the higher classics were attended to. Happily, at the time Ralph Wardlaw entered the University, both the classical chairs were occupied by men of this stamp.

Professor Richardson, who filled the chair of Humanity, and whose province embraced the Latin language and literature, was, if not a profound, an accurate and elegant scholar; and, as a professor, seems to have possessed the enviable talent not only of commanding the respect, but of engaging the affections and awakening the energies of his pupils. His colleague, Professor Young, who filled the chair of Greek, was one of the few men of whom Scotland can boast, in modern times, as sustaining her ancient reputation for classical learning. Enthusiastic in his admiration of the literature of ancient Greece, on the beauties of which he would dilate until the tears ran down his cheeks and his whole frame quivered with emotion, he was not less exact in his acquaintance with the grammatical structure and idioms of the noble language in which these treasures are contained. He had thought much on the philosophy of language in general, and was full of ingenious and learned speculations which he applied to the illustration of the Greek language in particular. Unfortunately, he never gave his views to the public in any permanent form, and his lectures having been delivered extempore, it is only from the reports of his students that any evidence can be gathered of his claims to rank among philosophical philologists. By his pupils, he appears to have been enthusiastically admired. "John Young," writes the poet Campbell, "with the exception of Millar, was the ablest man in the college;" * and I have heard others, who studied under him in his best days, express themselves in still stronger terms of his genius and learn-

* Life by Beattie, vol. i. p. 94.

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ing.* Certain it is, that he succeeded in diffusing an enthusiasm for learning, and for classical learning in particular, among his pupils, and gave an impetus to classical studies in Scotland, the effect of which is yet felt.

To both of these professors Mr. Wardlaw became strongly attached. Professor Richardson he admired, and perhaps unconsciously imitated, as a model of correctness and elegance in respect of style, as well as gracefulness of elocution. His attendance on the Greek professor was extended over four sessions, an unusually protracted course. This argues such an interest in the subject of the class as cannot but justify the belief that he was a diligent and meritorious student. This is farther attested by the number of prizes which he gained, each of which was bestowed as "diligentiæ et virtutis præmium simul et monumentum."† At the close of the session 1791-92, he carried off the Muirhead prize in the Humanity class. In the inscription on this, Professor Richardson signalizes him as "elegantioris ingenii dotes diligentia gnaviter excolens." Though nearly all his college papers were destroyed by him, there still remains one volume which affords evidence of his diligence and ability as a student in the Greek class. It is entitled, "Notes on Young's Lectures on the Prepositions;" is written carefully in a clear and fine hand; and appears to have been a later transcript from some ruder notes taken at the time. From the nature of the subject, and the wide range of philological illustration by which Professor Young sustained his views, as well as from that excessive refinement which has been pronounced his "only fault,"‡ it could only be by a very attentive and intelligent student that so full and accurate a report of his prelections could have been

* "The person who shall succeed the late Mr. Young in the Greek Chair at Glasgow," says a writer in the Edinburgh Review for July 1821, shortly after his death, "will find it a most arduous task to support the fame which that Chair has acquired from the lectures of so distinguished a professor. Few, indeed, can hope to rival the splendid abilities and profound erudition of a man who reflected so much lustre upon his own situation, and the University in general."

† These prizes consisted chiefly of copies of the exquisitely printed editions of classical authors issued from the press of the Messrs. Foulis of Glasgow.

‡ Edinburgh Review, vol. xxxv. p. 309.

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made as appears in these notes. I presume it must have been in the last session of his attendance on this class, which was the session 1796-97, that these notes were taken.

Besides philological studies and readings in the classics, those who attended the classes of Professors Richardson and Young were exercised in the composition of English themes. These were not always in prose; on the contrary, there seems to have been a disposition on the part of both the classical professors to stimulate their students to the exercise of such powers of versification as any of them might possess, on the principle, probably, on which Dr. Watts recommended the *reading* of poetry—viz., that "it tends to furnish our tongues with the richest and most polite variety of phrases and words, upon all occasions of life or religion."* Among Mr. Wardlaw's fellow-students there appear to have been several on whom, if not the "mens divinior," yet certainly the "os magna sonaturum" had been conferred; and there was one especially who was not only the *facile princeps* among his youthful competitors for poetic honours, but whose name now stands high on the list of British poets. I refer to Thomas Campbell, whose curriculum at the Glasgow University synchronized with that of Mr. Wardlaw, and whose biographer tells us that the approbation of Professor Young, bestowed on a particular occasion, "stimulated him to such increased diligence in his study of Greek, that he soon gave proofs of his proficiency by those elegant translations which still maintain a place among his published poems."†

To what extent Mr. Wardlaw engaged in these exercises of the class, I have not been able to ascertain; but that he did engage in them, incited by the fine example rather than repressed by the pre-eminent abilities of such a competitor as Campbell, is certain; and it is not less so that his exercises possessed such merit as entitled him to stand in the list of prizemen for the same year in which Campbell won his laurels for his translations from the Greek. Of these exercises, only one is extant, preserved from a general incremation to which the author had consigned

* Improvement of the Mind, p. i. c. 20. † Life by Beattie, vol. i. p. 65.

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his juvenile productions by the pious zeal of his oldest son, who happened to enter the room at the moment. It is without any title, but is evidently designed to be a translation of the 14th Olympic Ode of Pindar. I subjoin it as the only existing specimen of Mr. Wardlaw's early efforts in versification.

"*Primos infantis musae ne sperne labores.*"

Scorn not the struggles of the infant muse.

Ye sister Nymphs, ye Graces fair,
To you I send the poet's pray'r;
Ye who the verdant margin tread
Of smooth Cephissus' wat'ry bed,
Who, gently flowing, winds his way,
Pleased with your more gentle sway:
In whose rich land the noble horse
Train'd for the many-doubling course,
Is taught unspurred to leave behind,
With flying feet, the fleet-wing'd wind:
Ye lovely queens, far famed in song,
Who rule the Orchomenian throng,
Bright guardians of old Minya's line,
To hear my voice your ear incline.
Each sweet delight which men pursue
With wishful fondness, dwells with you;
Yours are the gifts that form the sage,
Admir'd in youth, revered in age;
Immortal fame your smiles bestow,
Or make the flowers of beauty blow.
In heaven itself when powers divine
Around the festive board recline,
With graceful elegance and taste,
Your hands arrange the sumptuous feast;
Or when the brisk notes of the lyre
With livelier mood the gods inspire,
When, gaily blyth, the choirs advance,
With buskin'd feet you lead the dance.
Handmaids of Jove, their sire's fair pride,
O'er heav'n's rich treasury who preside,
Near Phœbus of the golden bow,
Who shoots his silver darts below,
Your lofty circled thrones ye place;
And heart-replete with heavenly grace,
With sweet melodious voices sing,
Th' eternal praises of your sire and king.

Aglaïa, belov'd with awe,
And music-charm'd Euphrosyna;

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Fair daughters of the king of might,
Now let my words your ear invite ;
Thalia, whose melodious tongue
Is tun'd to music's sweetest song,
Thither, goddess, haste thy way,
To crown with joy the festive day.
Come and join my Lydian song,
And lead the measur'd verse along ;
Fill thine eye with pleasure's gleam,
For youth victorious is my theme :
Asopichus, the brave, the young,
Is he for whom my lyre is strung ;
His fame I wish to send afar,
Young victor in the Olympic war ;
Who, led by thy propitious hand,
Brought glory to the Minyan land.
Come and raise the chorus high,
Till swelling notes ascend the sky !
Tale-telling Echo catch the sound ;
O'er hill and valley fleetly bound ;
Speed thee to the dark domain,
Where Pluto holds his gloomy reign ;
To each wild rock and chequer'd shade
Repeat the tale, ere memory fade ;
Around the seat of black-rob'd night,
Seek Cleodamus' wand'ring sprite,
And whisper in his ravish'd ear,
The glad some tidings which you bear :
" Asopichus, thy youthful, gallant son
On earth a race of glory has begun ;
Already he has won th' Olympic prize,
And blooming laurel shades his glistening eyes ;
Already he has gain'd immortal fame,
And Pisa's records bear his honour'd name :
Asopichus awakes the poet's lyre,
And fills his soul with music's holy fire ;
For thee, too, deathless glory he has won,
The father's honour'd in the honour'd son."
Tell all the brightening glory of his boy,
And fill his parent heart with bursting joy.

When this version is compared with the original, it must be allowed to be sufficiently free; indeed to be rather a paraphrase than a version; and besides, that a sense not strictly accordant with the author's words has, in one or two instances, been given. In some of the lines, also, there are evident marks of juvenility, in the use of feeble expressions and redundant epithets, as well as in defective rythms and imperfect rhymes.

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On the whole, however, the versification is spirited; some of the lines are exceedingly vigorous; and the whole shows a command of words which, in a boy of thirteen or fourteen, is remarkable. The evidence, also, which such a version displays of proficiency in Greek is deserving of notice. "Non cuivis contingit adire Corinthum," it is not every man who is Grecian enough to grapple with "the immense Pindar;" and to transfuse his rapid and swelling verse—

> Monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres
> Quem super notas aluere ripas—

into adequate English is a task which has yet to be performed, though it has been tried by several who were both ripe scholars and skilful versifiers. Under these circumstances, the preceding lines cannot be looked upon without interest, as affording excellent promise in so young a student.

In the fourth year of his curriculum, 1794-95, Mr. Wardlaw attended the class of Mr. Jardine, Professor of Logic. Though the duties of this chair consist properly in the exposition of the philosophy of mind and of the formal laws of thought, Professor Jardine chose rather to give a practical than a speculative turn to his prelections, and laboured assiduously to apply the elementary principles of psychology to the training and disciplining of the minds of his students. When it is remembered how youthful the great majority of these were, the wisdom of such a course must appear conspicuous; for not only in this way were studies which the class could appreciate substituted for inquiries with which only a matured understanding is competent to grapple, but the immense benefit was conferred upon the students of having their faculties invigorated, and habits of mental discipline formed such as were calculated alike to facilitate the subsequent study of philosophy, or to secure success in the active pursuits of life. In this department Professor Jardine was eminently successful. His views of the proper end of education, and the best method of securing that end, were founded on an accurate acquaintance at once with the instrument on which the educator has to operate, and the kind of

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cultivation which best fits a man for the duties of life. His favourite text-book was the Novum Organum of Bacon, and by thoroughly drilling his students in this, he took the best means for laying the basis of all subsequent success in the pursuit of truth or the management of affairs; for the inductive method is applicable alike to the researches of science and the business of life. He bestowed great pains also on the written exercises of the students, not only carefully correcting all errors of expression, but pointing out inaccuracies of thought, and fallacious or defective reasoning whenever they occurred. His name does not stand among those who have enlarged the bounds or added to the resources of philosophy; but, as a master of the science and practice of education, he occupies a place of the highest distinction. Few men have sent forth a larger number of pupils who have risen to eminence; and perhaps no teacher ever received more gratifying acknowledgments of the benefits his instructions had conferred, from men whose position and reputation made their acknowledgments of real value. It was to him that Lord Jeffrey, the first of Scottish critics, referred in his Inaugural Address as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, when he said, "I cannot resist congratulating myself and all this assembly, that I still see beside me one surviving instructor of my early youth, the most revered, the most justly valued of all my instructors—the individual of whom I must be allowed to say *here*—what I have never omitted to say in every other place—that it is to him and his most judicious instructions that I owe my taste for letters, and any little literary distinction I may since have been enabled to attain."

Under such a teacher, a student like Mr. Wardlaw could not but largely profit. Diligent, conscientious, and docile, as well as naturally acute and reflective; already quickened into mental activity by the stimulus imparted through the admirable instructions of Professors Richardson and Young; with aspirations stirring in his bosom after literary distinction, caught from former successes and the noble enthusiasm of teachers whose soul was in their work; and with a felt consciousness of power—that

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delicious feeling which, in the youthful breast, is the grand prompter to activity; he was exactly the person, and just in the condition, to appreciate and profit by the sagacious instructions and wise discipline of such a teacher as Jardine. It is to this period, accordingly, that we are to look as to one of the crises of his intellectual history. Hitherto he had occupied himself chiefly with the thoughts of other men, and from such studies he had obtained a store of elegant sentiments, a copious vocabulary, and refinement of taste, especially in the selection of words and the arrangement of these in sentences. But now he was taught to think for himself, to discriminate accurately between thought and thought, to reason consecutively, to weigh and estimate with patience and nicety conflicting positions or judgments, and to set forth in just order, and with proper effect, his own conclusions, with the grounds on which they rested. I have no doubt that it is to this period of his progress that we are to trace the commencement of that decided impulse towards the study of subjects resting upon moral evidence which continued with him through life, as well as that sobriety, sagacity, and critical acuteness by which his pursuit of such studies was so felicitously distinguished.

In the Logic class, Mr. Wardlaw carried off the first prize for an Essay on Abstraction.

To these brief notices of the earlier years of Mr. Wardlaw's academic life, I am happy to add the following from the pen of one who was his fellow-student at this time, and who is still permitted to remain on the field of labour, where, with almost unabated vigour, and with undiminished reputation, he discharges the functions of a minister of the gospel of Christ. Writing to Mr. William Wardlaw, the Rev. Dr. Muir of St. Enoch's, Glasgow, thus records his pleasing reminiscences of that time :—

Garnet Hill, Glasgow, 10th February 1854.

My dear Sir—In requesting me to favour you with some short account in writing of my early recollections of your venerated father, Dr. Wardlaw, deceased, when he and I were fellow-students in the University of Glasgow for four or five consecutive years, from and after the year 1791, you awaken in me feelings the very opposite of those which Queen Dido, in ancient

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classic story, excited in Æneas, the son of Anchises, when she bade him relate to her the history of the Trojan War—a ten years' conflict—in which he, her guest, had recently been engaged, and the ultimate Fall of Troy. He, in compliance with the Queen's request, began by saying—

"Infandum, Regina, jubes renovare dolorem;"

Giving her to understand that he would feel pain in the recital; but I, in compliance with your request, begin by saying—

—— "haec olim meminisse juvabit;"

Giving you to understand that I have pleasure in the recollection.

The truth is, when Rodolphus Wardlaw and Joannes Muir, for these were the names we respectively went by in the catalogue which was called every day in the various classes, sat together on the same bench, as we did in the Greek class for two successive years, and admired, as we both did, the readings, and prelections, and dignified demeanour of Professors Richardson, and Young, and Jardine, in those days the College, and its studies, and its pleasant walks in the College garden, were—

"Seats of my youth when every sport could please."

They were at that time equally delectable to young Rodolphus Wardlaw; for buoyancy of spirit, and cheerfulness of disposition, as well as a taste for studies, characterized him in those early days.

I well remember the favourable impression made upon his youthful mind by the elegant language in which the lectures of Professor Richardson were clothed, when he lectured to us in his private class on Criticism and Belles Lettres, and by the courtly manner in which those lectures were pronounced and delivered by him. Mr. Wardlaw's looks and words bespoke his admiration of his teacher; and, as we cannot but copy what we very much admire, he seemed to me, from the very outset of his academic career, to have formed his style on that truly excellent model.

Nor did he seem to be less enamoured of the manly sense and critical acumen displayed by Professor Young, when he, in the private Greek class, gave us weekly prelections on the Iliad of Homer. In short, Rodolphus Wardlaw was always prepared, when called up to be examined on the business of the class, whether in the Latin, or the Greek, or the Logic, and never failed to be ranked "inter primores," both by the Professors of those branches of polite literature in our College, and by the students themselves.

In his fifth session (1795-96), Mr. Wardlaw attended the Ethical class, conducted by Professor Arthur, the successor of Reid. Like his illustrious predecessor, Mr. Arthur did not confine himself to the subject of ethics, but included within the range of his prelections the philosophy of mind as well as that of morals. Though not distinguished for any contributions to philosophical science, he has left behind him the reputation of being a faithful and successful teacher, whose instructions were

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much valued by the better order of his students. In this class Mr. Wardlaw succeeded in carrying off a prize.

In the following year he completed his academical curriculum by attending the class of Natural Philosophy, under Professor Meikleham. He had previously attended the mathematical classes in the university, I have no doubt, with his usual fidelity and diligence, but without any marked success. It is rarely that a mind fitted for, and addicted to moral speculation, possesses much aptitude for mathematical studies; and, on the other hand, those who devote themselves to these studies, very seldom possess or retain much capacity for pursuits where conclusions are to be reached through the balancing of probable evidence. It would be going too far to say, with Warburton, "that the oldest mathematician in England is the worst reasoner in it;"* but the concurrent opinion of all the most competent judges, from Socrates downwards, will fully bear out the statement of the same writer, "that long habit in this science incapacitates the mind for reasoning at large, and especially in search of moral truth."† Here and there a notable exception occurs, as in the case of Pascal, who was alike eminent as a mathematician and as a moralist; but such cases are extremely rare; and it may be questioned whether even Pascal would not have escaped some intellectual weaknesses which detract from the perfect symmetry of his mental development, had he been less addicted in early life to mathematical pursuits; and certain it is, we have Pascal's own strongly expressed judgment in favour of the general incompatibility of the two mental habits.‡ I have little doubt that the subject of this memoir could have easily mastered the mathematical sciences had he given his mind to them; but his early bias towards moral reasoning sufficiently accounts for his comparative neglect of this department, and the

* Julian, Prof., p. 20; Works, vol. ii., p. 346. † *Ibid*, p. 19.

‡ Il est rare que les géomètres soient fins, et que les esprits fins soient géomètres, à cause que les géomètres veulent traiter géométriquement les choses fines, et se rendent ridicules, voulant commencer par les définitions et ensuite par les principes, ce qui n'est pas la manière d'agir en cette sorte de raisonnement.—*Pensees, Premiere Partie*, Art. 10, § 2.

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very doubtful effect of mathematical studies on the discipline of the mind renders it subject of congratulation that it was so. He learned enough of mathematics, pure and applied, for all practical purposes, and beyond this he did not seek to proceed; in this following the prescription of Socrates, of whom his disciple relates that though not himself unskilled in the higher geometry, he dissuaded from the study of that science, beyond what was required for practical purposes, being unable to see the utility of such study, and because it hindered many other useful acquirements.*

In addition to the classes forming the regular academic course, Mr. Wardlaw attended the classes of Botany and Anatomy for more than one session. This he did, partly from a desire to acquire interesting information, and partly also because he had, at an early stage of his career, some intentions of pursuing the medical profession. He continued to retain his attachment to both these departments of physical science, though the occupations of after life prevented his paying more than an occasional attention to them.

He also attended, for two sessions, the lectures of the divinity professor as a voluntary student.

In the Scottish Universities, it is usual for the students, besides attending to the duties imposed in the class, to become members of some society or club, where exercises are undertaken by them, according to the rules of the institution, with a view to still further quicken and cultivate their mental powers. Such were the Discursive Society and the Debating Club, mentioned as subsisting among the Glasgow students at this time in the Life of Thomas Campbell; such was the Speculative Society in Edinburgh at which Jeffrey, Horner, Brown, and Brougham first tried their powers in the conflict of opinion and of oratory; and such were and are several besides, some of which have lasted for generations, and have a history of their own not unworthy of

* Xenoph. Mem. l. 4, c. 7. The reader will find the whole subject of the value of mathematics as an instrument of education fully and most ably discussed by Sir William Hamilton in his Discussions on Philosophy, &c., p. 263, ff. 2d edit.

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being told. Whether Mr. Wardlaw was a member of any of the more public societies in the University during his student life, I have not ascertained; the only evidence leading to the belief that he was is furnished by the existence of an essay on "The Credibility of the Gospel History," written by him in 1794, and indorsed "for a society;" but the records remain in his own handwriting of one of a more private kind, into which he and a select body of his cotemporaries formed themselves, and of which he acted as secretary. This society was formed in the end of 1795, and consisted originally of six members, who were in the course of the session joined by eight others.* At their first meeting they resolved to exclude theological questions from their debates; but, after some hesitation, concluded on permitting the discussion of political topics, on the ground that "politics are a part of philosophy," and in the hope that "the prudence and discretion of the members" would sufficiently determine "how far it was proper to enter into these topics." It was further agreed, "that as the subjects of their researches were chiefly in philosophy, the society should be denominated *The Philosophical Society.*" The meetings of the society were held in the Materia Medica class-room of the University every Friday evening; and the usual routine consisted in the reading of an essay by one of the members to be criticised by the rest, and in the conducting of a debate on some question previously fixed upon, and on which the members had to take opposite sides according to order—the president for the evening being the umpire, by whose decision it was determined which party had the victory.

Of this society Mr. Wardlaw was an active and useful member. Besides discharging the functions of secretary with a fidelity to which the neatness and accuracy of the minute-book kept by him bear witness, he opened their proceedings by reading the first essay, the subject of which was "The Nature and

* Their names were James Corkindale, Ralph Wardlaw, Alexander Carson, James Fulton, John Brown, John Steele, Hew Thomson, Andrew Taylor, William Clark, Robert Robison, Josias Gamble, Henry Simson, James Lindsay, Robert Mackenzie.

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Constitutes [*sic*] of Happiness;" and during the session he does not appear to have been once absent, or to have missed taking a leading part in the debate. I can easily believe that he very much enjoyed these friendly encounters, and that he reaped advantage from them, both as a dialectician and as a public speaker. I question, however, whether his maturer judgment would have wholly approved of such societies, especially of that part of their method which consists in appointing the members to take and support parts in the debate utterly irrespective of what in their own candid judgment they may consider truth. In looking over the minutes of this society, I find that the subjects were for the most part such as involved no very important truth in philosophy or morals, and on which, therefore, it did not very greatly matter what opinion was adopted; still, the habit of taking up a side, irrespective of conviction, and contending for that side merely for the sake of victory, is pernicious, as calculated to enfeeble the love of truth for its own sake, and to cultivate rather a faculty for special pleading than a capacity for sound philosophical research. In one instance the question brought under discussion was too solemn to have been treated in this fashion, viz.—"Is the soul immortal?" On this occasion, Mr. Wardlaw was appointed to defend the *negative* side of the question, and thereby to advocate an opinion which I am quite sure he not only never held, but which he would in serious earnest have repudiated as false and pernicious. To him the whole thing was, of course, a mere intellectual exercise, at the close of which his real convictions remained as before; but I cannot help thinking, that he must have suffered some self-condemnation when he looked back upon the debate; and when I perceive that his side was declared victorious, and that the result held to be established was that "that the soul is mortal," I cannot but feel that the risk of such discussions is very great, and that in minds not firmly established in the truth, they may cast in seeds of doubt, uncertainty, and scepticism, of which the fruits shall be found embittering and poisoning the man's whole after life.

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Mr. Wardlaw's colleague in this debate was Alexander Carson, who was also a very active and industrious member of the society. Between these two, indeed, the chief labours and honours of the meetings were divided; and when they both were on the same side, that side was almost sure to be victorious. They are the only two whose names have subsequently attracted public attention, and as they came latterly into somewhat fierce collision on the field of controversy, it is not without its interest to find them thus proving their armour and testing their skill in the mimic encounters of the debating club.

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CHAPTER II.

A. D. 1795—A. D. 1800.

We have now followed the subject of this memoir to the termination of his juvenility. We have seen him, as a child, growing up under the benignant influences of a cheerful, refined, and pious home; and we have followed him, as a youth, through the aspirations and attainments of academic life. The season of preparatory education is past; that of active application of the resources and energies thus acquired to some of the great interests of life is at hand.

In what department of activity shall these energies and resources be employed? A grave question! from a mistaken answering of which, in regard to themselves, many have been doomed to a comfortless, unsatisfying, profitless life, who might otherwise have proved both useful and honoured members of society; many, of good natural powers, good character, and good inclinations, to spend their strength in efforts which, like those of Sisyphus, simply exhaust, and never either please or profit; many to go through the dull routine of drudgery in their profession, but to do no one noticeable or useful thing in this world, who might have been serving their generation, and gaining credit and profit to themselves, had they but engaged in callings for which God had given them a natural fitness.

On this important question Mr. Wardlaw appears, wisely, to have been left to follow his own inclination and judgment. For a while, as has been already stated, he felt disposed towards the medical profession; but though that profession had many charms for him, and though he felt an interest in the studies on which

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it is founded, which he retained through life, he ultimately decided to devote himself to the ministry of the gospel. For this, his fitness, even at that early period, was so apparent, that all who knew him must have rejoiced that he had come to such a resolution. His career at the university had abundantly shown that his natural abilities were both great and varied, and that to these he added the necessary quality of decided and persevering application. His genius, at once vigorous and sprightly, fitting him alike for the refinements of philosophy and the graceful pursuits of literature; his temper calm, reflective, and amiable; his powers of expression, by voice and pen, such as few of his age exhibit; and his general bearing, at once sweet and noble; all conspired to indicate the post of a public teacher of religion as that in which he was most fitted to excel. But had he at this time the highest quality of all—that without which all gifts of intellect and graces of manner are but as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal? Was his own heart right with God, that he should venture, in God's name and in Christ's stead, to plead with other men to be reconciled to God? Had he himself accepted those overtures of grace, which it is the main design of the Christian ministry to announce to, and urge upon, the world? Was he himself within the embrace of that new and everlasting covenant, of which he was about to offer himself as a minister? Happily, to these questions, anxious, and pious, and judicious friends, who would have felt that the greatest unkindness they could do him would have been to encourage him to enter the ministry if destitute of such qualifications, were enabled, with hopeful confidence, to give answer in the affirmative.

At what time Mr. Wardlaw underwent that great change, without which there is no true piety, it is impossible to say. Brought up in a Christian household; surrounded from his infancy by godly influences; familiar from the dawn of intelligence with the truths of the Bible; accustomed to the habit of religious worship and observance; naturally of a serious and thoughtful spirit; and from his youth up of pure manners, virtuous associations, and religious sympathies; in his case the passage from

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death unto life was not likely to be made by any violent, or even noticeable transition. That a transition had to be made by even such a youth, none would more earnestly have asserted than himself; his theology and his experience alike taught him this. But with such as he, the change must, from the nature of the case, be one gentle in its nature, and imperceptible in its progress. Estimated at longer intervals, the evidences of its existence become clear and distinct; but the successive steps are, from a minuteness which eludes our notice, not traceable by us. Words that have been spoken in quiet seasons of domestic instruction, or have fallen from the lips of the public teacher in the sanctuary, and which at the time seemed to produce little or no impression, have yet sunk deep into the heart, and are seen yielding their blessed results many days afterwards—just as seeds long before cast into the soil silently germinate, and open for their shoots a little pathway to the surface, and at last are seen putting forth the blade, and giving undoubted evidence that they have not perished. In such cases there is no sudden change, no vehement struggle, and no tumult of feeling; nor can the party himself say, with any degree of precision, when or how his conversion took place. All that he can venture to pronounce upon is that a change has taken place upon him—a change which, from its characteristic effects, he is led to believe is that "new creation" which it is the special work of the Divine Spirit to produce.

But whilst Mr. Wardlaw's initiatory religious impressions were thus, to use an expression of his own, "of dateless origin, and of imperceptibly gradual development,"* there can be no doubt that he owed them principally, under God, to the faithful and affectionate counsels and instruction of his father. The time which they usually spent together in the morning, and those studies of the Greek New Testament in which the son acted the part of reader and the father that of expositor, appear to have been especially blessed to him. These were seasons of hallowed enjoyment to which he ever afterwards referred with emotions of delight and gratitude.

* Life of M'All, p. xvi.

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The religious body to which Mr. Wardlaw senior belonged was that with which he stood hereditarily connected, viz., that section of the Associate Secession Church which, on the occasion of the separation caused by the controversy concerning the burgess oath, took the distinctive name of the Burgher Synod. The minister on whose teaching he attended was the late Rev. Dr. Kidstone; and it was by him, consequently, that the subject of this memoir was first introduced to the communion of the Christian church. Dr. Kidstone lived to a very advanced age, and had the happiness, not only of seeing the youth whom he had introduced into the church rising into usefulness and honour, but to be associated with him as a minister of the gospel in the same city for nearly half a century.

After passing the necessary examinations prescribed by the church to which he belonged, Mr. Wardlaw was accepted as a student of theology, and authorised to attend the hall of the burgher synod. The site of this theological school was, at that time, at Selkirk, and its president was the late venerable Dr. George Lawson, the successor in that post of the well-known and widely honoured John Brown of Haddington. The entire business of the seminary was conducted by Dr. Lawson himself, who was a man in many respects singularly fitted for such an office. As a biblical scholar his attainments were very high; his familiarity with both the Hebrew and Greek texts being such as to give rise to the tradition among his students, that he could repeat the entire Bible in the original. In theology his reading was extensive, and he had so meditated upon all that he had read that his mind was full of theological truth, and he had only to unlock his mental repositories to pour out upon his hearers a copious supply of sound and rich thought upon every branch of this subject. With sincere piety, humility, and a certain child-like simplicity, he combined no small measure of shrewdness and quiet humour, after a fashion which I venture to call peculiarly Scottish. As illustrative of the man, I may be permitted to record an anecdote, which I have on more than one occasion heard related with admirable effect by a living

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minister, and professor of the same church. Having occasion to travel to Edinburgh by the common stage, the venerable professor found himself in the society of two young gentlemen who had imbibed infidel sentiments, and whose talk indicated that their morals were as loose as their principles were unsound. Vexed and disgusted with their profane and impure language, Dr. Lawson at length interposed a gentle but firm expostulation, which drew upon him the surprised and contemptuous regards of his fellow travellers. Exceedingly plain and rather unclerical in his dress, as well as somewhat rustic in his personal appearance, they set him down for some small country farmer, and thought they would amuse themselves by perplexing him with their sceptical sophistry. They very soon found, however, that in this matter they had counted without their host, and it was not long before they began to feel that, whether in argument or in repartee, they were no match for the simple-looking stranger whom they had so gratuitously attacked. At length one of them said, in a somewhat petulant tone, "Oh! I suppose you are one of those who think nobody will get to heaven but themselves. Now do you really think that, if there is a heaven, you will have a place there, and such men as Socrates, and Plato, and the other great and good men who have done so much to enlighten and elevate the race will be cast out?" "My young friend," replied the professor, "that is a question with which I never trouble myself. If, when I get to heaven, I shall find Socrates, and Plato, and all the other great and good men, as you call them, there, I'll be very glad to see them; and if I don't find them there, I'm sure to get a very good reason for their absence."

Of Dr. Lawson's method of conducting the business of his class, the following account is extracted from a memoir of him, published soon after his death, in the Christian Repository. It will be perused with interest by all who are desirous of tracing the influences under which the mind of Mr. Wardlaw developed itself in its progress to maturity.*

* I am indebted for this extract to Dr. M'Kerrow's History of the Secession Church, p. 789.

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"The plan of Dr. Lawson's theological class was simple and judicious. It was his wish that every student, during the period of his attendance at the Hall, should have an opportunity of hearing his whole course of lectures on theoretical and practical divinity. For this purpose, though each session continued only nine weeks, he regularly went over his whole course on the system in five sessions. The students were regularly examined on the subject of the lectures which they had heard,—a practice admirably calculated to secure their attention, and to promote their improvement.

"The Dr. was accustomed also, every session, to make his pupils read with him, and critically analyze a part of the Holy Scriptures in the original Hebrew and Greek. Pertinent questions were proposed by him, on such occasions, leading, at once, to the formation of the sound critic, and the edifying practical expositor of the divine word. The continued study of the original languages of the Holy Scriptures, and of their criticism, and of the practical use of the sacred volume, were thus strongly recommended. A laudable ambition to excel in these important exercises was excited and kept alive, and, in many cases, led to very valuable results.

"During the course of his first session of attendance, every student was required to prepare and deliver a homily on a subject assigned him by the Professor; and generally to prepare two, and sometimes three, discourses, each of the other four sessions. All the subjects were assigned at the close of one session, on which discourses were required to be ready for being delivered the session following. Of these discourses, some were lectures, others sermons; some critical and others practical; and one or more of them popular, to be delivered, not only before the Professor and the students, but before all the people who chose to attend.

"Before delivering his own remarks on these discourses, the Professor gave every student who chose, an opportunity of offering his criticisms on what he had heard. Veneration for the enlightened and liberal tutor was found sufficient, in almost every instance, to prevent hasty and uncandid remarks. Few availed themselves, prematurely, of the privilege; but almost all were zealous in preparing themselves for doing it wisely. It was, generally, by those who had attended for three or four sessions, that observations on the discourses were made. Always kept under proper regulation, by the superintendence of the Professor, this exercise became a source of much improvement among the young men.

"No time or pains, which might promise to be useful, were spared by the venerable guide of their studies. On Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, he convened his pupils twice a-day, and once on Wednesdays and Saturdays; so that his ordinary sederunts with them, every week, were ten, or ninety in the course of each session. For the most part these sederunts were long; not a scanty hour, but whatever portion of time was requisite for the important object in view was cheerfully bestowed. On those days on which the Professor met only in the forenoon with his students, they either met in the afternoon by themselves, to deliver, hear, and criticise essays on important subjects, for their mutual improvement, or in the evening along with all the Christian people who chose to attend. These public meetings were held six times during each session; at every such meeting, three of the students, in rotation or by appointment, gave out, each, a psalm or hymn, and prayed; and two others delivered short prepared and practical discourses or addresses. Often the whole, and always a part, of the

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exercises at these meetings, was connected with the great and most interesting subject of evangelizing the world, by the dissemination of the divine word among all nations, in their vernacular languages, and by the labours of Christian missionaries. As long as his bodily strength enabled him, the Professor attended these meetings, to render them as useful as possible by his presence. He always spoke last himself, on these occasions, and concluded with prayer. These meetings were well attended and highly useful, it is believed, both to the students and people. They tended to cherish devotion and a missionary spirit in all, and to form the young men for addressing a public audience with ease and readiness.

"Every meeting of the Hall was begun and closed with prayer. With great fervour of devotion, the Professor himself opened the first, and closed the last sederunt of each week, and the students, by rotation, opened and closed the other meetings with prayer.

"Such is a general outline of Dr. Lawson's mode of conducting the studies of the young men put under his care. There were occasional variations, according to times and circumstances, and to serve important purposes. To this plan, however, so comprehensive, so judiciously adapted to circumstances, and so well calculated, through the divine blessing, to form his pupils for being able, pious, and useful ministers of Christ, Dr. Lawson adhered, in its substance, for the thirty-three years of his professorship. In pursuing it, the whole circle of human learning was ever at his command. The powers of original and transcendent genius were ever manifest. The most profound discussion became always simple and plain under his management."

Of this exemplary and able instructor, Mr. Wardlaw became a pupil in August 1795, and he continued to attend the Hall for the prescribed period of five sessions.* Of this portion of Mr. Wardlaw's history, hardly any record remains. That he must have been a diligent student, his subsequent career as a preacher and a writer sufficiently proves; and the recollection of one of his fellow-students, who still survives, attests that among them he was held in respect for his abilities and attainments. A native of Selkirk, who recollects him whilst a student there, has told me that he was noticeable by the townsfolk, among his fellows, for the neatness and grace of his dress, and especially that he caused no small talk among them by the extravagance,

* Among those who were admitted to the Hall along with him, were two who afterwards were associated with him as ministers of that denomination which he subsequently joined, William Ballantine, for some time pastor of the Independent Church at Elgin, and who, at a later period, emigrated to America, and John Cleghorn who, after being for some time pastor of the Independent Church at Wick, became one of the pastors of the church in Edinburgh, which had been collected by Mr. Aikman. Over this church he continued to preside, in much esteem, until his death in 1844.

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as they viewed it, of a silk umbrella! This slight reminiscence gives note both of the individual and of the age.

Among the few records that remain of his student-life at Selkirk, is the following letter to his father, which presents more than one point of interest.

Selkirk, 27th August '98.

My dear Father—During the slumbers of yesterday morning, I was employed in reading a letter from Glasgow; but I awoke and behold it was a dream! I wrote Miss W. on Thursday se'ennight; and when Thursday last failed to bring the expected answer, I rested in the certainty that my dream should be realized this forenoon. But our waking hopes are often disappointed as well as our dreams. With respect to the unknown cause of my present disappointment, it is needless to speculate, let time unriddle.

Lee came out with Mercer, on Friday, to stay a few days. I was afraid at first that the benefit of his company and conversation might not compensate for the loss of time he might occasion. Happily, however, he is not very much in the house.

Some days ago a committee was appointed in the society to consider of measures for carrying on some friendly intercourse with the hall at Whitburn; not with a view to bring about a unity of principle, though there is already no difference, but merely to express our good wishes for their general welfare and the success of their studies; to show ourselves not disaffected towards them by vulgar prejudice. Whether we shall be well received, the experiment will prove; at any rate we shall console ourselves with the honour of having made the first address.

Some time ago two or three of us went out to the country and spent an evening with Mungo Park.* He is a very agreeable young man.† He possesses the esteem of all who know him. They say he is the same Mungo Park that left them, unchanged by absence and the various fortunes he has past. In his countenance he bears some resemblance to Humphrey Ewing. He is modest and unaffected in his manners, familiar and communicative in conversation; possessed of extensive knowledge, unspoilt by the slightest tincture of pedantry or forwardness. When he told us what he had seen, he seemed unconscious that he knew more than ourselves. The same qualities which we admired in him forbade us, as we were utter strangers, to introduce directly the subject of his African adventures; the more especially as they are to be published (about April next).‡ From what I have heard since I came, it appears, in general, that the story of the great city is in a great measure a fabrication,§ that he has been no stranger to hardships and

* At that time recently returned from his first journey into the interior of Africa.

† Park was at this time twenty-seven years of age; he probably looked somewhat younger.

‡ The first edition of Park's Travels appeared in April 1799.

§ It is probably to some story of this sort that Park alludes in his preface, when he says, after referring to encouragements he had received, "Thus aided and encouraged, I should deliver this volume to the world, with that confidence of a favourable reception, which no merits of my own would authorise me to claim; were I not apprehensive that expectations have been formed by some of my subscribers of

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fatigue, and that he is not very strongly inclined to explore a second time that inhospitable country, his farther progress in which was prevented by the prospect of certain death. He is away to England t'other day, and is next, if I am rightly informed, after the publication of his African travels, to visit New Holland.

I hear the *jingling* of cups. Popular discourses immediately after tea. Must, therefore, conclude with kind love to all at Glasgow, Gourock, and elsewhere, from, my dear Father, &c.

The Hall at Whitburn, mentioned in this letter, was the theological seminary belonging to the Associate or Antiburgher Synod, at that time under the charge of the Rev. Archibald Bruce. What became of the overture of peace and friendship made to its students by those of the Hall at Selkirk at this time I know not; but it is interesting to observe that, even so early as 1798, a movement towards reconciliation between the two bodies had been made, and that this first step towards so desirable a result was taken, as students, by those who must, as men, have been among the main agents in effecting that union of the two sections of the Secession Church which took place so happily twenty-two years afterwards.

During the period of Mr. Wardlaw's attendance at the Hall, the religious body to which he belonged was much agitated by internal controversy regarding the doctrine of the Confession of Faith as to the office and power of the civil magistrate in several matters. Whilst that formula asserts, as a general principle, that "God alone is the Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men," yet this is so explained as to admit of its being at the same time most plainly and unequivocally affirmed that it is the duty of the civil magistrate, as such, and by the use of force, to take order for the prevention of heresy and the maintenance of orthodox belief. In respect of such as, "upon pretence of liberty of conscience," shall presume to depart from the accredited dogmas of the church, it is ordained that "for their publishing of such

discoveries to be unfolded which I have not made, and of wonders to be related of which I am utterly ignorant." It is possible, however, that the reference in Mr. Wardlaw's letter is to the city of Timbuctoo, round which no small mystery was thrown for many generations, but which has been repeatedly visited by Europeans since Major Laing first succeeded in reaching it in 1826.

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opinions, or maintaining of such practices as are contrary to the light of nature, or to the known principles of Christianity, whether concerning faith, worship, or conversation, or to the power of godliness, or such erroneous opinions or practices as, either in their own nature or in the manner of publishing or maintaining them, are destructive to the external peace and order which Christ hath established in the church, they may lawfully be called to account, and proceeded against by the censures of the church, and by the power of the civil magistrate."* Still more explicitly is it declared in another place that the civil magistrate "hath authority, and it is his duty, to take order that unity and peace be preserved in the church; that the truth of God be kept pure and entire; that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed."† Such statements very clearly assert that not only has the civil magistrate much to do *circa sacra*, but also that he has not a little to do *in sacris;* and those who declared their adherence to them could hardly do so conscientiously without believing that the right of judging what opinions and practices are consistent with the will of God rests with the civil magistrate, and that on him lies the obligation to use his power to the uttermost for the prevention or extirpation of whatever modes of faith or worship he may conclude to be heretical. At the time of the rise of the Secession, this subject had not probably occupied the attention of its ministers and members, and the Confession of Faith had consequently been retained in whole, and without qualifications, as the standard formula of their church. In course of time, however, many began to see that such doctrines were not only in themselves unscriptural, but that they were utterly inconsistent with the privileges which they themselves claimed, as seceders from the church which the civil magistrate had established. In consequence of this, Presbyteries were continually called to license and ordain men who declared that they could not conscientiously adhere to

* Ch. 20, § 4. † Ch. 23, § 3.

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the doctrine of the Confession on this subject; and as many of the Presbyteries ventured to relax the terms of admission rather than refuse men otherwise every way qualified for the ministerial office, a somewhat disorderly state of things had gradually crept into this part of the church's discipline. In order, therefore, to bring the standards of the body more into accordance with its actual practice, it had been proposed to make the question respecting the power of the civil magistrate in religion a matter of forbearance; that is, to allow each man to hold his own opinion regarding it without prejudice to his ecclesiastical status. It was proposed also that the same principle should be applied to another subject on which there was a difference of opinion in the Synod, viz., the perpetual obligation of the National Covenant and of the Solemn League and Covenant.* Of this it had been the law of the church that an acknowledgment should be exacted from every candidate for ordination—a law which, like the former, certain Presbyteries had ventured to neglect, in compliance with the scruples of brethren who could no longer conscientiously make such acknowledgment. The proposal that on these matters free scope should be left to individual judgment was as moderate and as reasonable a proposal in the circumstances as could well be made. To some, however, such a concession to what they thought latitudinarian and dangerous sentiments appeared too great to be yielded; and accordingly the proposal met with determined opposition in the Synod, and led to a controversy between the "Old Lights" and the "New Lights" (as the opponents and the supporters of the proposal respectively were called), which was protracted through several years, not without some bitterness especially on the side of the former. The more liberal party at length carried their point in 1799, upon which certain of the opposite party withdrew from

* It may be needful for some of my readers to state, that the National Covenant was the covenant or bond adopted by the Presbyterians in 1638, and that the Solemn League and Covenant was that adopted by them in 1643. The purport of both these documents was essentially the same. They were a firm and determined protest against Popery, Prelacy, and tyranny, and in favour of the civil liberties and religious predominance of Presbyterians. More perhaps than any documents of the kind, they are entitled to be regarded as "national."

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the communion of the Associate Synod and formed themselves into a separate body, afterwards known as the Old Light or Original Burghers.

I have entered into these details because I believe that this controversy exercised no small influence upon the future career of the subject of these memoirs. To students any agitation of this sort is apt to become a subject of only too engrossing interest; and we cannot suppose that the young men of Selkirk were indifferent spectators of the conflict by which their church was agitated, especially as their Professor Dr. Lawson had taken a prominent part in the discussion. That Mr. Wardlaw at any rate was deeply interested by it, we have documentary evidence in a production of his pen, to which an event arising out of this division of the Associate Synod gave birth.

The event to which I refer was the attack made upon the Synod by the Rev. Dr. Porteous, one of the ministers of Glasgow, in a pamphlet entitled, "The New Light Examined; or Observations on the Proceedings of the Associate Synod against their own Standard." Dr. Porteous was one of those men who, when they are wise, enjoy quietly the good things which Providence has cast into their lot, but who, when they are suffered to go demented, are tempted to be officious, to meddle with things that belong not to them, and so become as one that taketh a dog by the ears. A heavy, obtuse, self-important man, with enough of bad temper to be malicious but not enough of wit to be either amusing or dangerous, he was every way unfit for the office he chose to assume as a critic of the proceedings of the Associate Synod in the matter referred to. These proceedings had been conducted by men of great acuteness and energy, and they related to a question for the due settlement of which calm reflection and clear discrimination are especially requisite. With such men, and in such a cause, Dr. Porteous was not the man to cope in fair debate; and therefore as might be expected his pamphlet was a piece of mere pompous insolence, and scurrilous misrepresentation. In ordinary times, such a production would have been simply contemptible; it would have fallen to the

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ground as a "telum imbelle," and the body against which it was levelled might have left it to rot where it fell. But it appeared at a time when the state of the public mind made it dangerous. These were the days when men in authority were frightened out of their propriety by dread of revolution; when state prosecutions were instituted against those who had been guilty of any, the slightest, effort to effect a reform of existing abuses; when men of education and good standing in society were dealt with as common felons, because they had spoken or written on the side of popular representation in Parliament; and when the faintest whisper affecting the prerogatives of the civil magistrate was apt to be magnified into an act of desperate disloyalty and treason. At such a time a publication proceeding from the pen of a clergyman of the National Church, the design of which was to affix the stigma of political disaffection, as well as ecclesiastical laxity upon a body dissenting from that church, could not be treated with indifference; the more especially as charges of a similar kind had been insinuated against that body in the highest judicial court of the realm, and had been received with more than toleration by the bench. It became therefore necessary for the Synod to issue some defence against such serious and false charges. In the Court of Session their innocence was openly proclaimed by the highest crown officer, Lord Advocate Maconochie, who, after a full investigation of the whole case, declared their loyalty to be above suspicion. A resolution expressive of their abhorrence of sedition and avowing their undeviating loyalty was issued by them. And their defence against the attack of Dr. Porteous was undertaken by a young minister, then recently settled at Edinburgh, the late well-known and much-venerated Dr. Peddie. The vindication was as superior to the attack in vigorous ability as it was in moral earnestness and truthfulness. It excited much attention at the time as an admirable specimen of dignified severity, conclusive reasoning, clever sarcasm, and manly eloquence. Before the withering fire of such an antagonist it was not a man of Dr. Porteous's calibre that was able to stand. It drove him, with the scorched and

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blasted laurels of his short-lived popularity, into an obscurity from which he was wise enough never again to venture forth.

The indignation which thrilled through every member of the Associate Synod at the unprovoked and malevolent attack of Dr. Porteous found vent in Mr. Wardlaw's case in the composition of a satirical poem to which he gave the title of "Porteousiana," and which though never published was handed about a good deal in manuscript and excited considerable notice. It is a piece of some length, written chiefly in the Hudibrastic style, but with passages in the heroic metre and in the ballad metre interspersed. It displays great facility in versification—perhaps at times too much of what Byron calls "the fatal facility of the octosyllabic measure"—along with great powers of biting sarcasm and keen retort. Some passages it must be confessed are marked by the absence of that delicate propriety of expression which adorned the author's maturer style, and in some instances he has descended to personalities which, in a young man writing under the excitement of strong feeling, may be forgiven but cannot be commended. For such blots Horace's apology will suffice—

> Me quoque pectoris
> Tentavit in dulci juventa
> Fervor, et in celeres iambos
> Misit furentem—*

and it is important that this feature of the piece should be noted, because it shows that if in after life the author was to an almost unprecedented degree abstinent from all coarsenesses of expression, and everything like personality or sarcasm in controversy, it arose not from any peculiarly sensitive refinement of mental constitution, nor from any want of power to handle an adversary roughly had he chosen, but from a prevailing sense of duty, leading him to keep his own spirit in subjection, and to serve the cause of truth at the least possible expense of personal feeling to his antagonist. As this piece belongs to the history of its author's mind, and as it enjoys a sort of traditional reputation which makes people often anxious to procure a perusal of it, I

* Od. i. 16, 24.

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shall place in the appendix a brief analysis of it, with such extracts as appear best adapted to give the reader a just idea of the merits of the piece.*

The composition of this *jeu d'esprit* may be viewed as its author's farewell service to the ecclesiastical body it was designed to vindicate. Even whilst writing it his mind must have been wavering in its allegiance to that body. The discussions concerning the power of the magistrate in sacred things, by which it had been agitated, had carried him to a point somewhat beyond that at which the majority of the Associate Synod then saw reason to stop; and had, in conjunction with other influences, prepared him for listening favourably to the opinions of another religious body then recently organised in Scotland, and of which ultimately he was destined to become one of the main pillars and the brightest ornament.

This body had arisen in the north, not in consequence of any departure on the part of its leaders from the doctrinal standards of the Established Church, nor from any speculative preference of a different form of church polity from that which hereditary attachment and the memory of past struggles and endurance, as well as conscientious conviction, had so endeared to the people of Scotland. Nor, in retiring from the communion of the National Church, did the fathers of Scottish Congregationalism for a moment dream of assuming the position which it has been usual for seceding bodies, however small numerically, to assume in Scotland—that, namely, of a body protesting, on the one hand, against the National Church, as having swerved from the faith or practice to which by its standards it was pledged, and claiming to be the true and genuine Church of Scotland, on the other. Of such things the good men who instituted the Congregational system in Scotland had not the least thought. Theirs was from the beginning a movement of a purely spiritual kind. Like Methodism in England, the secession which they headed had its source simply in a craving for more life, more energy, more spiritual freedom and diffusiveness than they could find in existing systems. They felt a need

* See Appendix B.

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for a higher kind of spiritual nourishment than they had been accustomed to, and for more of warmth and heartiness in the proclamation of religious truth to men than the fashion of pulpit address at that time permitted. They mourned over the want of Christian fellowship, sympathy and co-operation in the churches, all of which had come to wither under the blight of a stiff and jealous officialism. And they sorrowed most of all for the multitudes who were living around them in ignorance and in sin, misled by unsound teaching, or left to perish without teaching of any kind. Could they have found the remedy of these evils and the securing of the desiderated benefits in religious societies with which they were already connected, it was not in their minds to have ever forsaken these. On the contrary, they rather clung to them with filial affection; nor was it until they were treated as unworthy and rebellious children—their requests refused, their longing desires scorned, their evangelistic efforts repressed and punished, and the whole machinery of ecclesiastical despotism put in operation to suppress or terrify them—that they asserted their rights as men whom the truth had made free, and availed themselves of the liberty conceded to them by the laws of their country, to unfurl the banner of an independent communion, unfettered either by state control or ecclesiastical domination. Their adoption of the Congregational form of church polity was the result of subsequent investigation and study, to which they were led partly by the circumstances in which they were placed, and partly by the counsel and instructions of ministers from England, holding these views, who came to countenance and assist them in their evangelistic efforts.

The history of the rise and early progress of Congregationalism in Scotland has of late been so frequently and so fully told, that I do not feel myself called upon to attempt any repetition of the narrative here.* It may suffice for the purposes of

* See Memoirs of Greville Ewing, minister of the gospel, Glasgow. By his Daughter, 8vo, Lond. 1843. Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and of his brother James Alexander Haldane. By Alexander Haldane, Esq., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-law, 8vo, Lond. 1852, 5th ed. 1855. Life, Times, and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell. By Robert Philip, 12mo,

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the present record to state generally, that at the time to which the course of our narrative has brought us, Congregationalism had secured for itself a footing in several of the principal towns of the northern part of the island, and had been the object of no small measure of public interest and excitement. This it owed partly to the zealous and unprecedented exertions of its founders, and partly to the angry measures resorted to by those whose monopoly of ecclesiastical influence it threatened to assail. Mr. James A. Haldane had boldly led the van as a lay-preacher, and in this capacity had visited several districts of the country where he addressed immense multitudes of people and excited the deepest interest by his lively, earnest, and evangelical discourses. Mr. Robert Haldane had munificently lent himself to promote the cause by the erection of suitable places of worship, by bearing the expenses of ministers brought from a distance to occupy these, or to itinerate as preachers of the gospel through the country, and by instituting and supporting a seminary for the education of suitable persons for the work of the ministry. The Circus at Edinburgh, a building capable of holding 2500 persons, had been opened as a regular place of worship, and subsequently the Tabernacle, a building capable of containing upwards of 2000 persons; and such men as Rowland Hill, Dr. Bogue of Gosport, Matthew Wilks, the Rev. George Burder then of Coventry afterwards of London, and many others of like excellence, were invited to occupy the pulpit. Crowds attended wherever they preached; indeed such was the excitement produced, that no building could admit the multitudes who pressed for admission, so that recourse had frequently to be had to meetings in the open fields. On such occasions not fewer than from 15,000 to 20,000 persons were sometimes computed to be present, and from 5000 to 10,000 was the usual range of

Lond. 1841. The Jubilee Memorial of the Scottish Congregational Churches, p. 8vo, Edin. 1849. Fathers of Independency in Scotland; or Biographical Sketches of early Scottish Congregational Ministers, A.D. 1798-1851. By R. Kinniburgh, p. 8vo, 1851. Memoir of the Rev. John Watson, late Pastor of the Congregational Church in Musselburgh, and Secretary of the Congregational Union for Scotland. By W. L. Alexander, 12mo, Edin. 1845.

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the numbers assembled. Places of worship on a plan similar to that in Edinburgh had been opened at Glasgow and Dundee; in the former of which Mr. Greville Ewing, and in the latter Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Innes, both of whom had voluntarily resigned their office as ministers in the Established Church, officiated. Visits had been paid to almost all the towns and many of the principal villages of Scotland by Mr. J. A. Haldane and his associates in missionary labour, Messrs. Aikman and Rate, as well as by Messrs. Ewing and Innes, and by Mr. Hill and some other of the ministers from the south. The extraordinary results of these efforts roused to indignation some of the existing religious bodies, and led them to adopt measures which had only the effect of serving the cause they were intended to injure. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland deemed it proper to issue a pastoral admonition to the people under their charge, in which the Messrs. Haldane and their coadjutors are described as "a set of men whose proceedings threaten no small disorder to the country," and it is broadly insinuated that under the cloak of religious zeal they were seeking to further designs against the established institutions and good order of the country. By this intemperate and feebly written document no advantage whatever was gained to the side of its authors; it was universally felt to be in no way creditable to the National Church; and it only excited curiosity and sympathy towards those against whom so angry and at the sametime so impotent a bolt had been discharged. In the wake of the Establishment followed the Antiburgher Synod, which besides passing a resolution against missionary societies and lifting up their testimony against cooperating in religious matters with persons not of their body, excommunicated one of their ministers, the holy, devoted, and useful George Cowie of Huntly, for having heard Mr. Haldane and Mr. Hill preach in the course of one of their itinerant excursions. The Relief body also, forgetful of their own early history and of what they owed to the English Dissenters, levelled their edicts against the countenancing of any as preachers who had "not attended a regular course of philosophy and divinity

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in some of the universities of the nation, and who had not been regularly licensed to preach the gospel." Of these proceedings no man stands forward now as the apologist; and they are worthy of being referred to purely for their historical importance, partly as indicating the state of religious opinion and feeling in Scotland at the beginning of the nineteenth century, partly as affording evidence of the extraordinary interest which the movements of the Haldanes and their friends had excited throughout the country.

For that interest there is only one way of accounting. When a great matter is kindled by a little fire, one is naturally led to suppose that the matter was prepared for kindling, and that circumstances were favourable to the conflagration. The operations of the early Congregationalists in Scotland were in themselves of no very gigantic or startling kind. At the present day they would hardly excite any peculiar notice. A lay gentleman or two might travel now through the length and breadth of the land, and preach at every market-cross or village-green, without exciting more than a passing interest. The most popular preacher in England might come to Edinburgh now without finding it at all necessary to adjourn to the Calton Hill in order to find space for the crowds who were anxious to hear him; or if he preferred preaching in the open air might do so without incurring any risk of having to exert his voice so as to bring within its reach beyond a few hundreds of auditors. Why then did the itinerancies of Messrs. Haldane, Aikman, and their companions, little more than half a century ago, set the whole country in a blaze? or what was there in the preaching of Mr. Hill and those who came with him from the south, to attract such unparalleled crowds to listen to them? We cannot account for this difference by alleging a diminished interest on the part of the people of Scotland in religious matters; for the very opposite is the case. Nor will it suffice to say that the mere novelty of the thing was the cause of the excitement which attended the efforts of the Haldanes and their friends; for, with the single exception of laymen preaching, there was nothing

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novel in the procedure they adopted; to say nothing of the fact that it is not by the attractions of mere novelty that the cautious spirit of the Scots is most easily assailed. The true cause must be sought much deeper, and it will be found, I believe, in the state of the public mind at the time, suddenly roused as it had been by the shock of the French Revolution and the events which followed, to a consciousness of wants of which, in the apathy that had before prevailed, it had not been sensible.

After the excitement of the Rebellion of 1745 had passed away, a period of national torpor ensued. The nation was in fact in a chrysalis state, undergoing one of those great social transformations, which mark the stages by which people advance to maturity. Everything was more or less affected by a spirit of repose. Political enthusiasm or activity there was none. Commercial enterprise was only beginning to look languidly around for openings through which it might exert the strength it was as yet carefully husbanding. Literature showed most life; but it was of a quiet and graceful kind, eminently conservative of the proprieties, and afraid to trust its wings beyond the sound of the critic's whistle. In this general stillness and torpor religion shared; indeed, one might almost say that hers was the deepest slumber of all. In the National Church the long reign of Moderatism had done much to extrude all vital godliness, and to reduce the Christianity of both pastors and people to the lowest possible degree of attenuation compatible with the retention of the name. The majority of the ministers were avowedly Arminian, if not Pelagian, in their doctrinal views; not a few of them were Crypto-Socinians; and it was even insinuated that some, holding no mean place in the Church, were more than imbued with the scepticism of Hume. A few noble spirits still held aloft the banner of Evangelical Orthodoxy, and stood valiantly by it; but they formed so slender a proportion of the whole that their efforts could do comparatively little towards counteracting the unwholesome influence of the

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majority. In the dissenting churches, the state of things was undoubtedly greatly better; for in them no toleration was given to unsound doctrine, and the tone of religious feeling and sentiment was much higher than in the Establishment. Still there was but little of energetic piety even among them; little of aggressive activity in the propagation of the gospel; little of what Shaftesbury derisively and yet most truly called "the heroic passion of saving souls;" and along with this there was a much too prevalent disposition to set the mere apparatus of ecclesiastical order above the great ends for which such is alone valuable. And as religion shared in the general apathy amidst which the eighteenth century was advancing to its close, so it shared also in that sudden awakening which the startling events in the neighbouring country had produced. Men, roused out of their long repose, became painfully aware of necessities which craved immediate relief. They felt that hunger of the soul for suitable spiritual food which naturally follows a long period of spiritual destitution or inadequate supply. And as the existing ecclesiastical bodies were not sufficiently elastic—did not quickly enough expand to meet the new and enlarged capacities and wants of the people, the latter impetuously rushed forth to find elsewhere what was denied them at home. Hence the crowds that followed Messrs. Haldane and Aikman in their first tours of preaching through Scotland. Hence the thousands upon thousands that covered the slopes of the Calton Hill to listen to the preachers from England. And hence the almost instantaneous rise into considerable strength of a new religious body hitherto nearly unknown in Scotland, and for which, as subsequent events proved, the Scottish mind was not in reality cordially prepared. The new wine could not be stayed in the old bottles, and so when it burst forth it was caught and kept by those who alone at the time were prepared to receive it.

Whilst this excitement in the religious world of Scotland was going on, Mr. Wardlaw was pursuing his theological studies, a not unobservant or unconcerned witness of what was happen-

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ing; and when these studies were finished he found himself too deeply interested in the new movement, and too strongly drawn towards it to allow him to proceed to apply for license in the church to which he had hitherto belonged. "I have not," he writes to a friend* in February 1800, "yet assumed the pontificals. I am in some measure conscious of wasting time which might have been better occupied in *attempting* at least, so far as in me lies, to promote the glory of God and the most important interests of mankind. Many things, however, have of late divided my mind, and it is not impossible (don't gloom!) that I may be sucked in by the vortex of the Tabernacle." It would have been interesting to have been able to trace the workings of his mind on the question which at this time was evidently deeply occupying his attention, and to describe the process by which the leanings he thus playfully acknowledges ripened into decided convictions, and led him to yield himself cordially to the seductions of which he was at this time sensible. But unhappily no records exist putting us in possession of the necessary information on these points. All that we can with certainty affirm upon the subject is that whatever attractions the zeal and fervour of the Tabernacle party might have for a mind full of youthful ardour, it was not by them that he was ultimately "sucked in." The cast of his mind was too deliberative and calmly logical to be determined to so important a step as a change from one religious body to another by influences less solid and permanent than such as arise from intelligent conviction. It was only, therefore, when he arrived at a persuasion that the form of church polity which by this time that party had avowedly adopted, was the form sanctioned by the authority of the Apostles and the practice of the early church, that he resolved to unite himself to it. To this conclusion he was mainly brought by the perusal of Principal Campbell's Lectures on Ecclesiastical History—a statement for which we have his own authority. In a letter addressed

* His cousin, the late James Ogilvie, Esq., accountant, Edinburgh, who at the time the letter above cited was written was resident at Nassau, New Providence.

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to a relative* from whom he had borrowed that book he says, under date August 12th, 1801, "It is a book from which I derived much entertainment, from which I expect to derive more instruction, and which did more towards making me a *thorough-paced Independent* than anything I had formerly seen or heard."

It is not surprising that the perusal of that book should have had this effect; for no writer has more unhesitatingly avowed, or more ably supported the opinion, that the form of polity instituted by the Apostles, and universally followed by the first Christians, was the Independent or Congregational, than has its learned author. How he was able to reconcile his convictions on this subject with the retention of his preferments in the National Church, it may be difficult to conjecture. His secret, whatever it was, he has not at any rate divulged; and therefore his pupil, convinced by his arguments, had nothing for it but to follow the course which, under that conviction, a regard to consistency seemed to prescribe. In the course of the year 1800, consequently, he announced himself what Dr. Campbell's book had mainly contributed to make him, a decided Independent, and forthwith united himself to the Congregationalists by becoming a member of the church recently formed in Glasgow under the pastoral care of the Rev. Greville Ewing.

There can be no doubt that, whilst many rejoiced, not a few who were much interested in his welfare were grieved and vexed by the step which he thus took. At the sametime none who knew him doubted the sincerity of his conduct, or augured otherwise than favourably of his future career. When some one announced to the venerable Dr. Lawson that Ralph Wardlaw had left the Secession and become an Independent, the good old man was at first startled and pained by the intelligence, but after a moment's pause he said, "Well, it doesn't much matter: Ralph Wardlaw will make a good anything." "Have you heard," said a gentleman at a party one night, "that young Mr. Wardlaw, Baillie Wardlaw's son, is already on the brink of Socinianism?"

* The late Archibald Smith, Esq., accountant, Edinburgh.

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"You needn't be afraid," said the excellent Dr. Balfour who was present; "I by no means approve of what Mr. Wardlaw has done; but I know him well, and I think I may pledge my word that he will not go far wrong either in doctrine or in life." Both these excellent and amiable men were spared long enough to see their anticipations amply fulfilled and the pledge they had given more than redeemed.

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CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1800—A. D. 1803.

THE state of uncertainty in which Mr. Wardlaw was placed while engaged in examining the conflicting claims of Presbyterianism and Independency had prevented his taking any steps for appearing before the public as a preacher. This impediment, however, having been removed by the decision at which he had arrived, he lost no time in availing himself of the opportunities which the connection he had entered afforded to him of exercising his talents in the sphere to which he had so long looked forward, and for which he had been so carefully educated.

After some occasional exercises in different places, he visited Edinburgh towards the close of 1800, and was employed for several Sabbaths in preaching in that city and the neighbourhood. A relation of his, writing to another, under date 2d December 1800, says, "Our amiable friend Ralph has preached thrice—twice on Sunday, in the Circus in the afternoon, and at the Water of Leith in the evening; and to-night at Leith. His subjects have been—'I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, &c.;' 'Christ hath loved us, and given himself for us;' 'Rejoice evermore.' I have heard him twice with great pleasure."

The writer of this was an attached and partial friend, and was therefore more readily pleased than a stranger would have been. On the public generally, it must be confessed that Mr. Wardlaw's appearances as a preacher at this time do not appear to have produced so favourable an impression. "We did not think much of him," is the record of one* who heard him at this time

* Rev. Christopher Anderson; Memoir, p. 16.

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preach in Edinburgh; and this probably expresses the estimate formed of him by all except a few partial, and a few far-discerning judges. Those still alive who remember his first public appearances in Edinburgh concur in attesting that his discourses, though carefully prepared, were deficient in interest—that his manner was constrained—and that his enunciation was monotonous and occasionally hesitating. There is even a tradition to the effect that once, whilst preaching in the Circus, he fairly broke down, and being unable to recover himself had to retire, while another minister finished the service. Such mishaps are not unusual at the commencement of their career with men destined to eminence; they are less likely to happen with those whose standard of excellence is low, or whose self-complacent mediocrity preserves them from any over-sensitive dread of acquitting themselves worse than they had purposed.*

Success in public speaking depends, not more on natural fitness for the exercise, than on the possession of skill in so adapting the materials and mode of address to the capacities and conditions of those addressed, as to produce on them the desired effect. This can be acquired only by experience; and as experience is obtained as much through failures as through successes, it is no misfortune but the opposite for a young preacher to have a few rebuffs and disappointments in his first efforts to attract the attention of the public. Such, when wisely laid to heart, help him to a knowledge of himself which will be of vast service to him in future, and give nerve and vigour to powers which an uninterrupted course of success at the outset of his career would only tend to relax and mar. The wise and affectionate counsels of judicious friends are also, to a man of the right sort, of great use at such a season. Many a preacher, on whose lips admiring crowds have hung, has had to look back

* To those who have had the misfortune to "stick" in public, it may be some consolation to know that even the prince of orators, Demosthenes himself, did not escape this humiliation. His rival Æschines glories over him for this:—"ὁ δ', ὡς ἅπαξ ἐταράχθη, καὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων διεφάλη, ὑπὸ ἀπαλαβεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἠδυνήθη; ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν λίγειν ἐπιχειρήσας, πάντὸν ἔπαθεν. And he, when once he was put out and had swerved from what he had written, was unable to recover himself; but when he tried again to speak, he failed as before."—*De mala gesta legat*, § 15.

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with grateful recollection on some kind word "fitly spoken" to him at the commencement of his course, as having had not a little to do with the splendour of its subsequent stages. One such piece of counsel Mr. Wardlaw received from his uncle Mr. Ewing Maclae, which proved to him a cherished lesson for life. "Ralph," said his uncle after hearing him preach one of his first sermons in public, "did you notice that poor woman in the duffle cloak that sat under the pulpit when you were preaching to-day?" "Yes, Sir." "Well, my man, remember that people like her have souls as well as their betters, and that a minister's business is to feed the poor and the illiterate as well as the rich and the educated. Your sermon to-day was a very ingenious and well-composed discourse, and in that respect did you great credit; but there wasn't a word in it for the poor old woman in the duffle cloak." This was "a word in season." The young preacher, fresh from his literary and scientific studies, and with the examples of learned professors and profound divines before his mind as the models of excellence, had fallen naturally into the error of supposing that the sort of thing which would have commanded plaudits in the class-room was equally suited to meet the demands of the pulpit. It was kind to undeceive him on this point; his uncle's strictures did so; and from that time forward he erred in this way no more.

In the early part of the year 1801 Mr. Wardlaw engaged, at the request of Mr. Haldane, to supply the church assembling in St. Paul's Chapel, Perth, with sermon for a few Sabbaths. This church had recently sustained a severe loss by the death of their first pastor, the pious and devoted James Garie, which took place on the 24th of January of that year.* They very soon after gave an unanimous invitation to the Rev. R. Little of Hanley-Green to be his successor; but as that gentleman's answer was still in abeyance, they were anxious in the meantime to be supplied with sermon. It was under these circumstances that Mr. Wardlaw went to them. His engagement was at first for only "two

* See Memoirs of Mr. Garie and Kinniburgh's Biographical Sketches of early Scottish Congregational Ministers.

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or three Sabbaths," beginning about the middle of February; but from various causes his stay in Perth was extended, with occasional short interruptions, till the middle of October, when, after much negotiation, Mr. Little was at length induced to permit himself to be settled as pastor of the church. Whilst at Perth Mr. Wardlaw was accustomed to preach three times on Sabbath, as well as occasionally during the week. Hitherto his discourses had been delivered from memory; but the large amount of duty imposed upon him now led him to adopt occasionally the plan of preaching from a skeleton. He tried this experiment on the first day of his preaching at Perth, which happened to be on the fast-day before the sacrament in the city. "Yesterday," he writes to his father in a letter which has no other date than "Friday, February—I forget the day—1801" but which bears the post-mark of the 14th of that month—"yesterday we had sermon in the chapel forenoon and evening. In the forenoon I attempted to speak from a *skeleton*, framed on the Wednesday, and found it just *tolerably* easy." On this experiment it would appear that the old gentleman did not look with even as much complacency as his son; for in a letter written by the latter to his aunt, dated February 20, he thus refers to some cautionary strictures which his father had seen it desirable to address to him on the subject. "My dear father need not be much afraid of my exceeding the bounds of his caution at present in the use of the skeletonian method of sermonising. I would not have used it on Thursday had it not been that I wished to say something or other connected in some way with the occasion. To pick *dry bones* is no doubt very unprofitable, and must be very sore for the teeth; but very often the great difference between an extempore and a prepared sermon consists merely in the connection and superior preparation of the bones. In the one case we take them up as we find them; in the other we present them bleached, varnished and jointed."

Mr. Wardlaw's labours at Perth were diversified by occasional preaching excursions into the surrounding country as well as by exchanges with brother ministers in the neighbour-

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hood. In this way he was frequently at Dunkeld and at Dundee. At the former place, he was present at the ordination of Mr. Campbell, the first pastor of the Congregational Church there, which took place on the 6th of May, when Mr. Wardlaw "began the service by singing, and reading the Scriptures."*

At Dundee he found congenial society and the comforts of a kindly and well-ordered household in the abode of Mr. Innes, then pastor of the Tabernacle Church there. Another church had also at this time been formed in that town, the meeting-place of which was the West-port Chapel, subsequently for so many years the sphere of pulpit labour of the late excellent, able and devoted Dr. Russell. The pastor of this church at the time of Mr. Wardlaw's visits to Dundee was the Rev. Thomas Durant, afterwards for so many years the well-known and much esteemed pastor of the church at Poole. An acquaintance was thus formed between the parties which led to much close intercourse in after life, and was the beginning of a friendship which was interrupted only by death.

The following extracts from letters relating to his visits to Dundee contain some notices of historical interest, at least to Congregationalists :—

To his Father.

March 3d, 1801.—The Tabernacle there [Dundee] is doing very well, though by Mr. Innes's account there are few places where there prevails more indifference about religion, particularly among the higher circles. The house is large and well laid out—seated so as that all look straight to the pulpit. The church now consists of eighty members. . . . The Lord's Supper is to be dispensed as with us every Lord's day. I preached there forenoon and evening—*thin* in the forenoon, well filled in the evening. Mr. Innes supplied Mr. Durant's chapel in the forenoon, which made an equal division of labour among the three. I preached, at Mr. Durant's request, in his chapel on Monday evening."

To his Aunt Miss Wardlaw.

Dundee, March 9th.—According to a preconcerted plan, Mr. Innes and I met half way on Saturday. I rode his horse back to Dundee and he mine (*shanks' naggy*) to Perth. . . . The West-port Chapel was built for the

* Missionary Magazine, vol. vi. p. 305.

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Relief connection. Mr. Innes had a call to it about the time when his intention to leave the *Mother* had crept abroad. Before that it was occupied by Mr. Douglas of the Relief, who had himself sunk £500 in the building of the house. He lost his popularity by preaching democratic politics. The congregation decayed; the stipend of course could not be paid; and Mr. D. was under the necessity of withdrawing. Some of the people kept by the Relief and bought the old playhouse. The rest became Independents, kept the chapel and filled the pulpit with ministers from England. Of these Mr. Durant was one. He had been here on a trial formerly and was brought back to settle; staid some time, and was very much liked, as indeed he seems to merit; but from some causes not being fond of the place himself, he has left it, as he purposed, since I was here. A Mr. Hartley from London whom I have not yet seen, now fills his place on trial. I have been obliged to give you all this history for an intelligible answer to Father's question, *Who's this Mr. Durant?*

To his Father.

Perth, March 17th.—Whether Durant's leaving Dundee be sufficient to fix upon him the charge of volatility, depends on what circumstances they were which influenced him in taking the step; and of these I am ignorant. He appeared to me a very fine fellow; and I am sorry to understand that a vessel which sailed lately from Dundee having *a missionary minister** on board—which can be no other than poor Durant—has been captured by the French. Hartley I did not see, but heard him described as a little man about the bulk of Johnny Campbell,† remarkably lively, and tinctured with Rowland's manner.

To his Father.

Dundee, April 28th.—You will I daresay be a little surprised at the superscription of this letter. Dundee! What is he about there now? I was desired by Mr. R. Haldane when I passed through Edinburgh to examine five or six young men in Perth and neighbourhood, who had given in their names with the view of becoming *Lads*,‡ and to send those whom I should think fit for the class to Mr. Innes, for examination by him this day. As, for very obvious reasons, I rather preferred having a colleague in such a task, I came down for this purpose yesterday afternoon; and we have been occupied with them almost all this forenoon, and are to be again at it in the evening. My object was also to give Mr. Innes such information respecting any of them as I had been able to collect from others.

Like all the early Independent preachers Mr. Wardlaw devoted part of his time to village and itinerant preaching. This

* So the independent preachers were styled in Scotland at the commencement of their labours. The name arose from their itinerant labours in preaching.

† The Rev. John Campbell, afterwards of Kingsland, and the African traveller. For anecdotes touching his "*bulk*," see Lockhart's Life of Sir W. Scott, vol. iii. p. 195, and Philip's Life of Campbell, p. 345.

‡ A name by which the students at Mr. Haldane's classes were familiarly designated by the people.

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was greatly needed at that time in Scotland in consequence of the indolence of the clergy and the distance of many of the people from any place of worship. The following extracts from Mr. Wardlaw's letters at this time furnish some vivid illustrations both of the religious state of the country and of the sort of work in which the itinerant preachers had to engage, even under the most favourable circumstances.

To his Father.

1801, *March 31st.*—In this place there is no doubt much room for more of the gospel, not from the want of it and abundance of error, but chiefly from the way in which it is administered. The clergy here are indolent in the extreme. They have a practice of exchanging pulpits, every man going his round. One text, by means of subdivisions and recapitulations, lasts them in this way six or eight rounds. And as by the time they get through it, it may be supposed the people must have forgot the beginning, they can then set to the same again, or if this be too much, they take one which is not much older. And thus two or three lectures and sermons serve them for years, to "ring round the same unvaried chimes." There is a weekly sermon on Thursday to which the people are sometimes assembled by the bell, and find the doors shut, while he who should have preached has been found sauntering about the fields. This indolence is more remarkable in one than in the rest. But their texts and peculiar phrases, both in prayer and in preaching, are used as byewords among the people, some of whom express the disgust which many more feel.

I went up to Moulin from Dunkeld on Monday, on a beast which I was obliged at length to dismount and whip and drag four miles. Such things itinerants must submit to, as the word from its derivation seems to imply. Some travelling preacher had been reduced to such extremity, as to be seen "eatin' a runt," and hence the title, corrupted in the spelling, expressive of the lowliness and hardships of the station. This circumstance however was fully compensated by the pleasure of the visit, the particulars of which I cannot enter upon. I got the beast back to Dunkeld next morning with great ado in three hours; came to Perth that day; and preached by the way at a country village by appointment. This is quite the style.

1801, *July 6th.*—I suppose you may have heard ere now that I got safe to the neighbourhood of Stirling. I did not stop at Rosebank but went straight into town, where I found Mr. Harvie waiting my arrival, and my name and intention to preach that evening at six o'clock pasted up in various quarters of the town. I accordingly preached at the time appointed in the Traders' Green to 200 to 300 people I suppose. After sermon called on Mr. Smart. Found Mrs. S confined with a headache and troubled with her breast, having just weaned her child. Should have breakfasted there in the morning, but her complaints continuing to confine her, Mr. S. came out to Rosebank, whither I had gone the night before immediately after leaving him. Was happy to find the worthy and kind Grecian in pretty good spirits, and by his own account a great deal better than he had been. He had been offi-

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ciating in public for the last two Sabbaths. I expected to find him unchanged in affection and was not disappointed. He bears however more of the marks of frailty, the effects of his complaints. He is clear that I should have the pulpit of my great progenitor, if I return that way. I doubt if he will be able to accomplish this. He says he'll try. Nothing was wanting to bring me an audience six times as great as I had, but that I should have been designed in the intimation "grandson of Mr. Fisher, and great-grandson of the illustrious Eben. Erskine." Mr. C. and Robt. are both well. I left Stirling in the morning after 11, on horseback for Auchterarder. By the recommendation of Mr. Harvie, Mr. Smart called at Ardoch on Mr. Logan, minister of the Chapel of Ease there, who from our short intercourse seems a pleasant, sensible, good man—Mr. Balfour, I suppose, can speak of him more particularly, "gif ye want for till know." I went out with him to survey the remains of a Roman camp in the vicinity of his house, said to be perhaps the most complete in the island, and indeed it is very distinct, and gives a very accurate idea of their mode of entrenchment. The central area is surrounded by five ditches, with an outer mound. There are four opposite entrances. In the centre space is the site of the general's tent, and the station of his guards, and at one end of it a small artificial elevation, where many a century ago, probably was displayed the eagle of Rome! *Sit laus Deo! tempora mutantur.* With Mr. L. proceeded to Auchterarder. Returned my beast by a man who had come on foot before me for this purpose from Stirling (21 miles). No hacks to be got, and not much disposed to trudge, I hired what was called a cart-horse, being at sametime informed by the owner that I might lay my account with taking at least three hours, and probably a half more, to make out the remaining 14 miles. After drinking tea with Mr. Duncan, the minister, Mrs. Laing, my landlady's brother, where I found her and her sister, I brought the said cart-horse, or rather he brought me to Perth, over an up-and-down road, within the two hours; and here I am well, and so—

Perth, August 6th, 1801.—According to appointment I went up to Dunkeld on Saturday. Mr. C. brought back my beast and returned with him on Monday, and that evening I rode up to Moulin, intending to spend the latter part of Tuesday with Mr. and Miss Stewart, but to my disappointment was informed on the road that he was to be down early next morning to a meeting of Presbytery; and on my arrival there (about nine) found that Miss S. and a niece who was with them were also prepared for flight. They accordingly set out all three in a cart next morning, and I accompanied them like the "King of Prussia walking on horseback." Stept into the church at Dunkeld and got John Orr's share of part of *Mr. Kay's* Trials for Settlement at Kinclaven, which I suppose will in due time take place though it will be rather against the grain to most of the members of the Presbytery, who are no better than they should be. I had engaged to preach at Dowally (five miles on the road from D. to M.) that evening, but (I suppose from the heat of the ride from M.) was seized with a pretty severe headache attended with a slight stomachic affection which prevented me. Mr. C. went in my place. This too was rather a disappointment to me, as I wished to give them a little advice so far as I could relative to their situation, which is somewhat peculiar. There has been there, for some time past, a considerable stir about religion, but it is all among the young people, which circumstance, according to our Lord's prediction, has produced a good deal of division in different

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persecution would have not at least been allayed by the interference of the parish minister, who is rather disposed to encourage the parents in opposing their children—so that the young converts there stand much in need of encouragement and of caution. On Wednesday at one o'clock I preached at Auchtergaven, where I again met with Miss Stewart and her niece, a pleasant young lady of the same name, but I forget of what place. They were on a day's visit to the lady of a Captain Stewart in that neighbourhood—a lady who it seems has for several years been in a state of perplexity and indecision on religious matters, and being immersed in the world and receiving no encouragement from her husband, is indeed not in a situation very favourable to speedy determination. Miss S. had corresponded with her, and was now conversing with her, so far as she could find opportunity, with what effect remains to be seen. She did not prevail on her or her husband, as she had expected, to come to sermon. Drank tea in the evening by invitation, in company with the Moulin ladies, in the house of another Captain Stewart, whose lady attended sermon, and though in circumstances somewhat similar to the former, appears to be decidedly serious. The Captain being from home, we had some very pleasant conversation. Miss S. seems a truly valuable woman. You may think me too particular, but I was struck in these instances with the sovereignty of divine grace, "which takes one of a city and two of a family, and brings them to Zion." At the same time I think there is nothing in this to support the absurd sentiment, as it seems to me, that a person brought up in a religious family, by Christian parents, is not in a more hopeful way than one reared in the midst of debauchery and wickedness. A religious education has always been considered as a blessing: if this be the case it can be none. A plant in a kindly sheltered spot is more likely to thrive than in one that is scanty and exposed. Many other causes may kill it in the former situation, as many causes may also prevent the good effects of education; but still the probability of its thriving in that situation is greater than in the latter one.

The demand made upon Mr. Wardlaw for pulpit service at Perth was such as to impose a severe tax upon his energies and resources. He, however, acquitted himself so well that not only did the people to whom he had come to minister use every means to retain his services during the long interval that elapsed between their sending a call to Mr. Little and the settlement of that gentleman as their pastor; but an effort was made to induce him to remain in Perth and endeavour to raise a new cause there. The circumstances under which this proposal were made to him were these:—During the ministry of Mr. Garie the church over which he presided had assembled in a place which they hired for the purpose known as St. Paul's Chapel; but before his death they had begun to erect a new and more commodious place. This became ready for occupation in May

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1801, and the congregation accordingly moved into it then. The proprietors of St. Paul's Chapel, however, still wished to see that place used as a place of worship in connection with the Congregationalists, and knowing the favourable impression which Mr. Wardlaw's preaching had made in the city, they were anxious to persuade him to make the attempt to draw together a new congregation there. The first notice of this is contained in a letter written by Mr. Wardlaw to his father under date of March 17th, in which he says—"I have had a proposal made to me by the proprietors of the present chapel which is now occupied at an annual rent of £70. It will be thrown empty at the term when the new one is to be opened. The proprietors wish me to come back and take possession of the empty house at the term, and gather a congregation, while in the meantime I am to have the chapel free of all rent. When the congregation is such as to afford me a respectable maintenance, then, and not till then, the overplus to go for discharge of debts, &c., and the church to be just a sister to the other, precisely on the same footing. . . . . I did not give them any flattering hopes of my acceptance of their proposal, though the scheme will in all probability prove successful. I am to receive their proposal in black and white for consideration." A few days after the date of this letter he accordingly received a formal document from the proprietors placing the chapel at his disposal under the terms above described, and specially intimating that they left him "at liberty as to order and formation of the church in the way he shall judge best—only understanding it to be upon sound evangelical principles." The proposal thus made was undoubtedly a creditable one to the parties, as well as highly honourable to Mr. Wardlaw; but after duly considering it he saw meet to decline.

While these negotiations were going on in Perth a movement had been coming to a head among his friends in Glasgow, tending to the providing of a sphere of ministerial labour for him in that city. This proposal of the proprietors of the chapel at Perth seems to have brought the matter to a decision. It

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was natural that his father and his other relatives and friends in Glasgow should earnestly desire to have him stationed near them; and as they knew well the real power that was in him, they could not but wish to see it developed and exercised in such a sphere as that great and growing city presented. It was accordingly proposed among them to erect at their own expense a place of worship where he might minister, and where gradually he might collect a church; and of this it became necessary to apprise him when it was made known to them that negotiations were on foot with a view to fix him elsewhere. The proposal seems to have taken him entirely by surprise; but though it was altogether in accordance with his strong home affections, as well as in other respects a most desirable one, it was not all at once that he could see his way clear to embrace it. His state of mind in reference to the subject at this time the following extracts from letters to his father will best explain:—

Many a time, my dear father, have I doubted whether I should ever have been what I now am, a preacher of the gospel of the blessed God; and never more than when I read some parts of the Memoirs of S. Pearce—from this you may guess the cause. Yet when I have begun to suppose myself in other professions, I find in them all a kind of *blank*, and am somewhat encouraged to hope that I may not be altogether "a cumberer of the ground." I wish for some more settled sphere of usefulness; the disposition of my mind being in my own opinion more suited to this than to a state of perigrination . . . . . I pray that I may be taught to be pleased with all that pleases my Master. I wish to feel more of my own weakness and to have more simple reliance on Him.

Prudence and delicacy have made me hitherto avoid saying anything on the interesting subject which forms the chief part of its (his father's letter's) contents. But now that matters have gone so far, and you wish to know "how my pulse beats," I may speak my mind freely. Far from being disposed to treat the subject with any degree of indifference or levity, I reckon the present one of the most important periods of my life, whether viewed in relation to private happiness or public usefulness. I may begin by avowing without disguise that my *desires* accord with those of yourself and other friends. And I am much *inclined* to think that if I am to be useful at all, the probability of success is at least not smaller on the favourite side than on the other. But then I am aware how strongly the private feelings of the heart are apt to influence the judgment, and am therefore not a little jealous that there is more of self comes into view in the question than of *pure* regard to the honour of my Master and the good of men. My private inducements to prefer a station at *home* are suggested by the very word. Not among the least are the society of friends and Christian acquain-

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tance, the correspondence of a colleague * whose habits of thinking I have all along found to coincide so much with my own views, and the immediate counsel and direction of a father, whom I have good cause indeed to love as a parent and to esteem as an instructor. But how far these and similar considerations should be allowed to operate in cases like the present is a point that "gives me pause." Were I convinced that (if God is pleased to shew at all by my means that "his weakness is stronger than men") the honour of the Redeemer would be more effectually promoted by my remaining here, I hope I *should* be able to consider *even* such things as these to be in the balance "lighter than vanity."

. . . . . .

But on what footing is the chapel you speak of to be built? If it is purposely intended for me, here is patronage or something at least of the same nature, the very semblance of which I hate. If it is reared for the accommodation of a *sister* church, the members of that church will of course have the choice of their pastor, and who can say on whom that choice will fall? The same difficulty seems at first view to lie against the scheme of the managers [of the Perth chapel]; there is, however, this difference:—In the one case I take the risk of gathering a congregation *after the present swarm has fled;* in the other there is to be a *kind of division of the present church.*

The allusion in the close of this extract is to the separation of members from the church under the care of Mr. Ewing who were to form the nucleus of the new church proposed to be formed in the chapel to be built for Mr. Wardlaw. This was almost sure to take place, as many of his own connections and friends—some the very parties who were most active in seeking the erection of a chapel for him—were already members of Mr. Ewing's church, and there were doubtless others who, apart from any considerations of preference for one preacher over another, must be counted on as likely from various motives of convenience to exchange the old fellowship for the new. No wonder, therefore, that with his views of the rights of Christian churches, and with his delicate regard to the feelings of others, he should have felt a difficulty arising from this source to lie in the way of his at once closing with his father's proposal. Subsequent correspondence, however, tended to obviate his scruples on this score—a result which was materially promoted by the lovely and generous spirit in which Mr. Ewing viewed and sought to advance the proposed scheme. Difficulties of a practical kind such as all schemes of church building are exposed to, also arose

* The reference here is to the Rev. Greville Ewing.

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to cast temporary impediments in the way; but these too were in succession overcome. A piece of ground was advantageously secured in North Albion Street; plans and estimates were agreed on; and it was thus at length settled that his permanent ministry should be commenced in the city where he had spent all but the whole of his preceding life.

Having been relieved of his duties at Perth for some weeks in the autumn, he went to spend the interval partly with his friends at Glasgow. Whilst enjoying this seasonable relaxation he was induced to spend two Sabbaths at Dumfries, in order to relieve Mr. James Haldane who had engaged to supply the pulpit of the Independent chapel there, but had been obliged to return to Edinburgh before his engagement was fulfilled, in consequence of the illness of one of his children. During this brief visit Mr. Wardlaw made so favourable an impression on the church as well as on the people of the town generally, that a desire was expressed by the members of the church that they might have him as their settled pastor; and when it was found that this was precluded by the arrangements already entered into with reference to Glasgow, an earnest effort was made to induce him to spend the ensuing winter in Dumfries. With this request Mr. Wardlaw saw proper to comply; and accordingly on the second Sabbath of December he commenced his ministrations at that place.

The history of his residence and labours in Dumfries at this time will be best given by extracts from his letters to his friends written whilst there. The extracts I am about to give will also serve to illustrate some of his opinions on subjects with which his name as an author was afterwards to be closely associated.

To His Father.

Dec. 21st, 1801.—On Wednesday last I breakfasted by invitation in Mrs. Gordon's, your worthy correspondent's* mother. The company consisted of her, her two daughters, her son Sir Alexander Gordon, his lady, and their

* This was Miss Wilhelmina Gordon, who had written to Mr. Wardlaw senior, earnestly urging him to counsel his son to comply with the wishes of the people at Dumfries to spend the winter with them. Miss Gordon was a most zealous and active member of the church there at this time.

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two daughters. After breakfast in comes the Doctor,* to whom I was of course introduced by our friend Miss W. He is a big, stout-looking, purple, frank, sensible, intelligent man. He and I came off together. He told me he meant to have waited on me had he not met me there; but that day being a kind of Saturday with him, he was going out again to Holywood instantly after settling the business on which he had come into town. He gave me a hearty general invitation to come out and see him, of which I shall certainly make use . . . . .

On Thursday [the sacramental fast-day] I was employed afternoon and evening. In the forenoon I went to hear Dr. B——. He preached from these words:—"O give thanks to the Lord, for He is good" He began—"All that I intend from these words is, *first*, to prove the proposition that God is good; and *secondly*, to point out the effects which the consideration of this should have on our temper and conduct. Two arguments have been employed by writers on the first of these points; the one more abstract drawn from the nature and perfections of the Deity, the other more familiar deduced from the consideration of his works." As the former would have led him into deep philosophical speculation, he confined himself to the latter, on which he, *of course*, took a very common-place survey of the whole creation from the universe down to our world, and from our world at large down to the blades of grass and the insects that dance in the sunbeam. He dwelt on the dignity and happiness of man who is made "wiser than the fowls of heaven, and with more understanding than the beasts of the field," &c. &c. The inference he drew from all this fine description was a very plain falsehood—"that the world *as we now see it*, including man, is exactly such as we should *a priori* have expected to proceed from an infinitely benevolent Being!" A man might have sat and followed every sentence with a parody proving the directly contrary; for there was not a word about the effects of sin in poisoning the sources of happiness. The world *as it is* was just as it *should be*—a very nice world. He stated our national blessings, and touched on the specialties of the day. He could not well omit, among the blessings which proved God to be good, the redemption by Christ. Having heard that he once preached the gospel, I wished particularly to hear his creed on this subject. It was in substance, and nearly in his own words, as follows: "It is our duty to serve God our Creator and to keep his commandments, and we cannot reasonably expect happiness but in so doing. As I have shown that God is a Being of infinite compassion, He will pay a due regard to, and make all allowance for our frailty; and though our virtue be imperfect, it will certainly be accepted through the all-prevalent mediation and intercession of Jesus Christ, and we shall be admitted into his kingdom which he has prepared for all the good and worthy among mankind." From the first part of the discourse he inferred under the second the common duties of gratitude, praise, liberality, &c. The whole discourse, which he read, was *uncommonly common*, and we were not an hour altogether in church. The improvement which I made of the sermon—for I think my attendance was not without profit—I shall leave you to guess at, and to suggest also what you think I *should* have learned from it. I can only

* The Rev. Dr. Bryce Johnston, minister at Holywood, near Dumfries, and one of the principal leaders of the Evangelical party in the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

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assure you I heard with regret and vexation rather than with critical censoriousness.

To the Same.

Dec. 29th, 1801.—According to an agreement made with Miss W. Gordon I walked out with her this morning to breakfast with Dr. J. and his sister at Holywood. Our *slap-dash* visit was received with the most cordial hospitality. The Dr. was as kind and attentive as I could have wished. We had a variety of conversation. I had been informed of some peculiar topics on which he was fond of insisting; and some of these, I accordingly found, soon started into view—chiefly respecting remarks of his own on certain words and phrases used in Scripture which had escaped others; and in the illustration and confirmation of these he was so very *eager* and so *expansive* that it was not easy to get a remark thrust in. On one or two of these I ventured to drop a word in opposition—I need not say *ventured* indeed, for though fond of *holding forth* on favourite points, his manners are the very opposite of forbidding. In my objections I of course thought myself right; but I found the truth of the old saying "De gustibus non est disputandum" as it is translated by Tristram Shandy "There is no disputing against hobby-horses." The Dr., as I am informed, seldom comes down from the pulpit without having taken a gallop on one or other of his favourites. I was much gratified however by my visit, and hope it will not be the last. The manse is most pleasantly situated, commanding an extensive prospect not only over Dumfriesshire and Galloway, but also into Westmoreland and Cumberland; while the floor of the dining room is but 12 feet above the level of the sea at high tide. The remains of a Druidical temple are visible in the vicinity from the window; and from the *sacred grove* the place derives its name.

To his Cousin Archibald Smith, Esq.

Dumfries, January 15th, 1802.—Pray what is it in your present situation as to lodging and housemates that is so disagreeable, as only to be sufferable for the short time you mean to stay? This I recollect was the subject of conjecture at Glasgow, but I never heard with certainty. Good companions are indeed an article that gives a great zest to life. To have none at all, however. is better than to have bad ones. Vice is a plague whose poison is most insinuating. I have known by experience the truth of an observation made by our old friend Dr. Henderson, that the conversation and conduct of the wicked, though it should not shake a man's principles yet will leave such an impression as pollutes the memory. Such was his expression, and it implies a great deal. Nor is the evil of our associating with such characters confined to ourselves, it extends to them. Either we must speak or we must refrain speaking; if we speak to them faithfully we may rest assured we shall not be long their intimates. If we do not speak to them we of course do everything in our power of a negative kind to harden them in indifference and wickedness, by leading them to think that the difference betwixt us is not of very great importance. This perhaps will hold with peculiar strength with regard to the making companions of infidels who are even outwardly moral and decent in their character. I know from my own experience that the circumstance of outward decency only renders the danger to

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ourselves in this latter case the greater. We are apt to lose sight of the vast importance of the difference between infidelity and the faith of Jesus when habits of virtue derived from education perhaps and maintained by regard to character and other considerations present the former to us under its most favourable aspect, while in the midst of all this decency the heart is not right with God and there is an utter disregard of what we must ever consider as the only genuine source of virtue—devotion to God. A man may be very decent outwardly and yet a very impious ungodly man, "not having God in all his thoughts."

Finding my triple services on Lord's day beginning rather to weaken my bodily frame, I last Sabbath announced the suspension of one of the diets, complying with the desires and solicitations of friends both at a distance and here.

As to poetry—I had not altogether forgot your request; I had sometimes thought of compliance and wished to gratify you, but somehow Lady Muse has never been pleased to smile upon me. The truth is my talent for rhyming, if any I have, lies almost entirely in the ludicrous and burlesque line. My attempts at serious poetry I really think are *awkward*.

To his Father.

Dumfries, February 3, 1802.—As to the right and general propriety of ministers being supported by the people, it is plainly declared by the head of the church himself, Matth. x. 10, Luke x. 7; by Paul, Gal. vi. 6, 2 Thess. iii. 9; and is defended at large in the 9th chap. of 1 Cor. It seems plain indeed from everything Paul says on this subject, that in working with his hands for his support he acted from motives of expediency, which were at that time peculiarly urgent. And the same conduct would be equally becoming still in similar circumstances, where the contrary would evidently tend to hinder the Gospel of Christ either by exciting the prejudice which seems then to have prevailed, arising from the idea that the preacher's design was merely to make gain, or by being burdensome to people who really could not afford an adequate maintenance. Still, however, the obligation lies on them; and in my view it should not only be considered in the light of a duty but of a pleasant privilege. If I esteem my pastor very highly or love him for his work's sake, as not only an honourable work but a labour of love to me, I should like to have it in my power to shew my sense of obligation by imparting to him of my substance, that he may have the fuller leisure to prosecute this work; from the same principle which would make me pleased when I found an opportunity to lighten the burden of gratitude by rewarding a benefactor. As to the text in Acts xxvi., I shall only make a query which I have not room to discuss. Do the words "so labouring" refer to the Apostle's working with his hands or to the general example he had given the bishops of the Ephesian church, of labour in the gospel, explained in the preceding verses? Read the Greek and let me know your opinion.

Mr. Wardlaw remained at Dumfries till the month of March, when the state of his health became such as to compel him to retire for a season from active labour and to seek renewed vigour

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amid the quiet and repose of home. It was with great reluctance that he came to this resolution. There was much to induce him to prolong his residence at Dumfries. He was lodged in the house of christian people who sedulously cared for his comfort; he was surrounded by affectionate and admiring friends who appreciated his worth and sought his society; and above all, his ministry had been attended with the most encouraging success. "If," he wrote to his father, "kindness and unremitting attention and comfortable accommodation in board and lodging and every other article, could insure health and strength, I certainly *ought* to have been both healthy and strong." "The crowded attendance," he says in another letter, "especially on the Sabbath evenings, when numbers are obliged to go away unable to get in, and many are discouraged by this circumstance from coming to attempt it, make me reluctant to quit the field." It was manifest, however, that in the state of health in which he then was, the duties of the post were too severe for him; and this made retirement from it, for a season at least, an imperative duty.

Mr. Wardlaw remained in Glasgow for the four months following his return, occupied in private study and occasionally engaged in preaching. In the month of July he visited Edinburgh, chiefly with the view of supplying the place of Mr. Aikman who was laid aside by sickness. Here he remained for some time, during which he preached frequently in the Tabernacle and other places, as well as in Mr. Aikman's. Amongst other services in which he was at this time invited to take part was the ordination of Mr. Maclae (now Dr. Maclae of New York) over the church in Kirkcaldy. On this occasion Mr. Wardlaw conducted the introductory devotional exercises in the morning and preached in the afternoon. That he should have been asked to take such a share of the services in the presence of several older ministers and whilst he himself was yet unordained, shows the high esteem in which he was already held by his brethren. Since his previous visit to Edinburgh indeed he had made great advances in acceptability as a preacher. The good use he had

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made of the opportunities he had enjoyed at Perth and Dumfries of making proof of his ministry had been such that his profiting was apparent to all. "Since then," writes the same critic whose words I have quoted on a previous page as expressing the impression produced by his previous visit, "Since then he has risen in the estimation of every one—deservedly I think. The last time he was in town I liked him vastly."*

On his return from Kirkcaldy he had the happiness of making the personal acquaintance of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, of whose writings he had been long an admiring reader. This great and good man visited Edinburgh in the autumn of 1802, for the purpose of pleading the claims of the Baptist Missionary Society, of which he was secretary, and of which he had been the successful advocate in Scotland some years before. The pleasure of this acquaintanceship seems to have been mutual. "This young man," Mr. Fuller records in his diary, "is a promising character."† "From Fuller," writes Mr. W. to his father under date September 7th, 1802, "we got a charming repast on Sabbath forenoon from the 67th Psalm. He preaches to-morrow night in Mr. Aikman's; goes to Dalkeith on Thursday, whither I intend to accompany him; returns on Friday to preach in the Tabernacle at night; and in the same place, Sabbath evening, the collection is to be made."

To Mr. Wardlaw's great satisfaction he was requested to be Mr. Fuller's travelling companion for the remainder of his tour in Scotland. "On Monday morning," he continues to his father, "by an arrangement into which I entered with eagerness that I might be 'somewhat filled with his company,' he and I leave this together for Dundee, Perth, Stirling and Glasgow, meaning to reach you in the end of the week. I first intended putting him into the coach at Stirling for Glasgow and returning myself to Edinburgh, but I wish to get forward with him for a particular purpose which shall be fully explained *viva voce*, when we meet." At the close of this letter Mr. Wardlaw says, "Upon looking back

* Rev. Chr. Anderson. Memoirs, p. 16.

† Life of Ryland, p. 304.

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on what I have scrawled I am diverted with the idea of my *putting* Mr. Fuller, a man of three times my age and as many times my size into the coach, as a father would speak of his little boy! Common forms of expression are thus rendered ludicrous by the circumstances of the case in which they are used."

After fulfilling his engagement in Edinburgh Mr. Wardlaw revisited Dumfries, where he spent some Sabbaths towards the close of the year much to the refreshment and edification of the church. This and his former visit appear to have left a peculiarly pleasing remembrance in the minds of Christian people in that place. His nephew writing from it some twenty years afterwards says, "The angelic doctor of George Street Chapel is held here in the most honourable remembrance . . . . . Indeed all whom I have seen mention him in the highest terms of regard."

In the beginning of 1803 Mr. Wardlaw returned to Glasgow to await the completion of the chapel which was building for his occupancy, and to prepare himself for entering upon the duties which were to devolve upon him there. The feelings with which he watched the progress of the building were those of mingled desire and anxiety. "This is a prospect," says he in a letter to a friend,* "to which I look forward, as you may well suppose, with strongly mixed emotions—pleasure and awe, trepidation and satisfaction—ready at times to recoil with, 'Who is sufficient for these things?'—at another longing for the time when, in a more settled sphere of employment, I may, through the blessing of Him who hath said 'My grace is sufficient for thee,' be in some degree useful in spreading the knowledge of the Redeemer among my fellow-sinners."

Happily, whatever other causes of anxiety might press upon his mind, there was none arising from the dread of any unpleasantness being produced by the step he was about to take either in the church already existing in Glasgow or in the mind of its pastor. Never was a matter of this sort conducted with more kindly feeling on both sides. Mr. Ewing, with that largeness of heart which was characteristic of him, entered not only without

* Archibald Smith, Esq.

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reluctance, but with cordial delight, into the proposed withdrawal of a portion of his own church, to form the nucleus of a sister society under the pastoral care of Mr. Wardlaw; indeed, had the new chapel been intended for himself, and the new congregation been about to be placed under his own superintendence, he could hardly have manifested a more lively and kindly interest in the proceedings than he did. Being absent from home at the time when it was necessary that arrangements for the formation of the new church should commence, he transmitted the following intimation—the original copy of which in his own handwriting is now before me—to be read to the church of which he was pastor:—

INTIMATION WHICH MR. GREIG WILL BE SO GOOD AS READ TO THE CHURCH AT THEIR NEXT MEETING.

Mr. Ewing requests me to inform the Church, that he understands our Brother Wardlaw's meeting-house will be opened about the middle of next month—an event in which he hopes the Church will unanimously and sincerely rejoice. He is extremely happy in being able to state that Mr. Wardlaw and his friends are and desire to continue on a brotherly footing with this church, and that though from local situation or other circumstances many of the members may be induced to withdraw from the church in Jamaica Street and join that in Albion Street, there is no separation in principle or in the bonds of Christian love. He is desirous, therefore, that such members as may incline to take this step should enjoy the most perfect liberty, and should allow no feeling of delicacy which they may experience to distress their minds.

As Mr. Wardlaw wishes to see such as desire to join the proposed sister society, they may have an opportunity of speaking with him, on Tuesday evenings from 7 to 9 o'clock; and Mr. Ewing requests they will also give in their names, either to himself, or to the deacon in whose bounds they reside. Mr. Ewing was engaged to go to the country before he knew the expediency of having this intimation made to-night, which is the only reason he has not made it himself, but he hopes to have another opportunity of addressing the Church on the subject of it.

A copy of this was accompanied by the following letter to Mr. Wardlaw:—

My dear Brother—I hope what is written on the other leaf will meet your ideas. It may be read either in the open meeting or privately, as you please. If any alteration or addition be thought necessary, let it be made under your own inspection, without taking the trouble of sending it to me. About the rules we can talk when we meet.

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Mrs. Ewing is getting much better, and joins me in Christian love to you and all friends. I am, &c. GREVILLE EWING.
Ardgowan, 12th January 1803.

P.S.—Don't you think the intimation may be read in the open meeting, as there will be no private meeting unless one should be held for the purpose ?

Under these auspicious influences the new church was formed; and, the chapel having been completed, it was opened on Wednesday the 16th of February 1803; on which occasion the church was formally constituted and Mr. Wardlaw ordained to be its pastor. The ministers who took part in this service were Mr. George Robertson, pastor of the church at Auldkirk, afterwards of Thurso, Mr. Greig, who was then assisting Mr. Ewing, Mr. Ewing, Mr. Aikman of Edinburgh, and Mr. M'Lae of Kirkcaldy. Mr. Greig preached the introductory discourse, Mr. Ewing offered the ordination prayer and gave the charge, and Mr. Aikman addressed the people. Mr. Innes, who was prevented by family affliction from being present, sent his fraternal greetings by letter.

Fifty years afterwards, when the jubilee of this day's transactions was celebrated, he who had been the principal actor in them recorded his reminiscences of that period of his history in the following words:—

"The church at its formation consisted of 61 members. . . . . The day of our commencement was 'the day of small things.' The church was an offshoot from that which now meets in Nile Street under the pastoral care of the Rev. A. Fraser, but which then assembled in what was in those days called the Tabernacle in Jamaica Street, and over which presided the eminent and excellent Greville Ewing. But the shoot from that vineyard was not broken off by the hand of factious violence; it was severed deliberately and spontaneously by the willing hand of love, and under the impulse of zeal for the augmentation in the city of the means of grace. And with all cordiality did the keeper of the former vineyard lend his hand to the planting of it. He prayed the ordination prayer, and gave the youthful pastor his charge. Of the other ministers who took part in

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the services there survives but one; who after a long course of laborious and faithful service is now by disease and infirmity laid aside, and in peaceful and humble hope waiting the Divine Master's 'Come up hither.'* Well do I remember the day; I see before me in my mind's eye the countenances of friends and brethren, by far the greater proportion of whom are fallen asleep. It was a cold, dark, sleety, wintry day; there was nothing from without to cheer us; but there were warm hearts there, and these both of my own and other communions, although since that time the freedom of intercommunion among fellow-christians of different denominations has made—and it is one of the delightful features of the age—immense progress. . . . And there was with us, I trust, what is best of all, the presence of Him who hath said, 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them;' and the blessing of Him whose prerogative it is to send prosperity."†

Whilst waiting the completion of the chapel to commence his stated labours as a Christian pastor, Mr. Wardlaw had, at the suggestion of his cousin Mr. Archibald Smith, occupied himself in the preparation of a selection of hymns to be used by the congregation in public worship. The selection previously in use among the Congregationalists in Scotland, and known by the name of the Tabernacle Selection, was a very imperfect instrument of devotional exercise. The number of hymns was not large; many of them were unsuited to the purposes of worship; they were thrown together without any principle of arrangement; and alterations had been very freely made upon them, which, as they proceeded on the general principle of exscinding everything that savoured of the poetical, left this book as destitute of what could refine the taste as it was of what could kindle or sustain devotion. A new and better selection was loudly called for, and to supply this desideratum Mr. Wardlaw set himself assiduously for nearly a year. He was much encou-

* This excellent man, the Rev. George Robertson, was very soon after these words were uttered called to his rest.

† Speech at the public meeting held to celebrate the jubilee of Dr. Wardlaw's pastorate.

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raged and assisted in this work by Dr. Charles Stuart of Dunearn, who lent him a large collection of hymn books which he had gathered, and by his advice and otherwise materially furthered his endeavours. His father also contributed not a little to aid him in this work, partly by lightening his labour in collecting hymns, partly by bringing his sound taste to bear upon the choice of the most suitable, or the alteration of such as required to be amended. At the advice of Dr. Stuart the principle was adopted of arranging the hymns in the order of the passages of scripture on which they are founded, or the sentiment of which they express; an arrangement which I cannot but regard as unfortunate in several respects—first, as necessitating the exclusion of all hymns, however excellent in themselves, which are not immediately based on some part of the Bible; secondly, as leading to the separation of hymns the subjects of which are identical or closely allied, and to the juxta-position of hymns on subjects having no special affinity; and thirdly, as greatly adding to the difficulty of finding a suitable hymn for any occasion or subject —a difficulty not much alleviated by an index of first lines, seeing it is precisely where one is ignorant of these that the difficulty is most felt. I am disposed also to reclaim against not a few of the alterations which have been introduced into the hymns, and which are so numerous and extensive that the selector has assigned that as a reason for not appending the authors' names. There is nothing in literature so ticklish as an attempt to amend another man's verses; and even where this is done most felicitously it may yet be doubted whether the respect due to genius and to the integrity of literary property should not forbid all such alterations, except in cases of necessity. Of course, if the alternative be either to alter or to reject an otherwise admirable hymn for the sake of one or two objectionable lines or phrases, few would be so scrupulous as to object to the alteration if skilfully performed; but bating such cases it seems desirable to maintain that each hymn should be given in the state in which its author issued it. Let it be further said that as the gratitude of the church is due to the men who, under God, supply them

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with fitting vehicles of worship, it is an injury to both parties to withhold the names of the authors: to the authors themselves because it deprives them of their just meed, and to those who use their compositions because it prevents their discharging a duty alike becoming and pleasant. Whatever deductions, however, may be justly made on these grounds from the value of the selection of hymns prepared by Mr. Wardlaw, it cannot be doubted that his was an immense improvement on the hymn book previously in use, and that he conferred a great boon on the Congregational churches of Scotland by preparing it.

The first edition of this selection containing 322 hymns was published in May 1803. Some years afterwards a supplement was added containing 171 additional hymns, making the number in all 493. Of these 11 are of the editor's own composition; and they are not only among the best in the selection, but they are among the best which the English language possesses. Though issued anonymously, several of them have found their way into most of the principal hymn books which have been collected since both in England and Scotland.* This selection is now in the twelfth edition.

Two of the hymns contributed by Mr. Wardlaw to this selection had appeared previously in the Missionary Magazine, vol. viii. p. 48.

* The reader will find these hymns in the Appendix C.

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CHAPTER IV.

A. D. 1803—A. D. 1808.

THOUGH Mr. Wardlaw had commenced his labours in North Albion Street Chapel with a very respectable body of friends and adherents, his enterprise could be regarded only in the light of an attempt to raise an entirely new cause. This is always a matter of difficulty and uncertainty, especially in a place like Glasgow where the supply of preaching is already large and of superior quality. Peculiar circumstances may tend to lessen the initiatory difficulty of such an undertaking and to abridge the period when success shall crown and sanction the effort; or the preacher may, by the startling novelty of his doctrines, the popularity of his style, or even the quaintness and oddity of his manner, draw around him a hasty crowd of those—alas! too numerous in all large cities—who delight in nothing so much as in hearing some new thing, or who are attracted much more readily by what pleases, amuses or excites for the moment than with what permanently instructs and edifies. But in the absence of such influences the process is usually a long and an anxious one. We need not be surprised, then, to find that Mr. Wardlaw, whose peculiar ecclesiastical views had by this time ceased to be strange or novel to the people of the western metropolis, and whose great strength lay in the gravity of his matter, the clearness of his reasoning and the graceful correctness of his language, rather than in impressive declamation or in any striking peculiarities of manner and enunciation, should have laboured some time without producing any great sensation or receiving any rapid accessions to his flock; the more especially as the importance attached by him to purity

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of communion led him to be scrupulously careful whom he admitted to the fellowship of the church. "The church," he says (to Mr. A. Smith, May 9th, 1803) "is increasing very slowly, but I trust *surely;* and this I hope will ever be my chief concern which no worldly consideration shall supersede. In societies constituted as ours is, purity is absolutely indispensable to comfort and edification. Other societies may flourish, *i. e.*, increase and prosper outwardly, with less attention to it, because there is less intercourse among the members, who have also little concern in the discipline exercised, such as it is. But in societies where the church *is* the church, and a few lords over the heritage are not substituted in its place—where the members associate for mutual exhortation and discipline as well as meet statedly for public worship—where there subsists necessarily much more frequent and intimate fellowship, it is impossible we can prosper, in the right sense of the word, without strict attention to purity of communion and the cultivation of fervent brotherly love; a principle by the bye, which, from the frequency and urgency of the apostolic exhortations respecting it, seems to have been more needful for the prosperity of churches *as then constituted*, however that was, then, it is for churches constituted on different principles from ours. They who *need* this principle most for their order and prosperity are probably nearest, therefore, to the apostolic plan." From the principles and convictions enunciated in these sentences the writer of them never swerved during the whole course of his ministry. On the contrary, he to the last regarded purity of communion as one of the great fundamental principles of apostolic church order, without attention to which no church could really prosper; and one of the principal services which he considered the Congregational churches to have rendered to the cause of Christ in Scotland was their having recalled this principle into prominent notice from that oblivion and neglect under which it had been allowed to fall.

Strictness in the matter of purity of communion must not be confounded with denominational narrowness. Of this there was nothing in Mr. Wardlaw's mind, and from the first it had

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no part among the characteristics of his church. Whilst the church was ruled and its affairs administered on the principles of Congregationalism, adoption of these was never made a term of communion. Among the earliest of its members were some who still adhered to Presbyterianism in principle, and of these one of the most prominent was his own venerable father. And here I may introduce an anecdote pertaining to this excellent person illustrative of the point in hand. His brother-in-law the Rev. Mr. Smith was the successor of Ralph Erskine at Dunfermline, and thither "old Bailie Wardlaw"—I use the words of the Rev. Dr. Macfarlane of Glasgow, son of Mr. Smith's successor at Dunfermline, to whom I am indebted for the anecdote—"used to go to the sacrament every summer. After he joined his son's congregation in Glasgow, Mr. Macfarlane in joke said to him when he arrived as usual, 'Well, Bailie, I am not so sure about admitting you now. You have gone out from among us.' 'No, no,' said the good old man, 'you must just let me hold fellowship with you as of old. I could not resist sitting under my son's ministry, but I said to him when I joined him, Now, Ralph, you must just take me, Presbyterianism and all.' The matter was soon settled. They were *Christian* men."

Whilst thus engaged in laying, in sound scriptural teaching and adherence to apostolic precedent, a solid and enduring basis for the society he hoped gradually to collect, Mr. Wardlaw's thoughts were turned to another connection, which according to the usage of the Protestant churches seems to be deemed almost indispensable to the completeness of ministerial fitness. "I suppose you have heard," he says in the close of the letter last quoted, "of a house having been taken for your humble servant, in prospect of a connection, which I know has your verdict of approbation, and which, considering the duration and steadiness of previous attachment, and other circumstances which will readily occur to you, I flatter myself promises as fairly as in most instances to be a happy one. *John Reid** is now set to

* The session-clerk, I presume.

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work—Q. F. F. Q. S.* I desire ever to remember my dependence and that we know not what a day may bring forth." The object of the attachment thus referred to was his cousin Miss Jane Smith, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Smith of Dunfermline and sister of his correspondent. They were united in marriage on the 23d of August 1803.

Mr. Wardlaw was now settled to his heart's satisfaction. An important and widening sphere of public usefulness demanded and encouraged his exertions; a circle of attached and admiring friends, many of them the companions and some the guardians and counsellors of his earliest days, surrounded him with the congenial delights of affectionate intercourse; and a home gladdened by the presence of one whom he had long and truly loved, and whose heart beat in fullest sympathy with his own, afforded him repose from the toils, and sweet solace amid the anxieties of public life. Surrounded by such circumstances his life glided easily and honourably on; with a current which, for several years, was unbroken save by such transient interruptions as the ordinary occurrences of domestic experience, and of a Christian minister's life supply.

The principal part of his time was occupied in the studies and activities connected with his office. He preached twice, often thrice every Sunday, and presided at a meeting held on each Friday evening, partly for the transaction of church business, partly for the purpose of listening to addresses from members of the church. This latter usage was for a season a very favourite one in the Congregational churches of Scotland, and was by some contended for as a positive institute of the Christian church, under the mistaken notion that it is to this sort of thing that the apostles refer when they recommend brethren to "exhort one another." It has long since all but died a natural death, though not without a protracted struggle in some quarters, whilst in others it even yet starts up in periodical fits, like the paroxysms of the ague, aspiring to recover its hold and lay its chilling grasp on the energies of the church.

* *i. e.* Quod faustum felix que sit.

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Besides his stated efforts in the pulpit, Mr. Wardlaw laboured much at this period of his ministry as a village, and even as a street preacher. "There are few villages," it has been said, "around our city [Glasgow] that have not their reminiscences of the young minister of Albion Street, preaching at cross-roads, in fields, barns, school-rooms, and kitchens. A regular station of his during many years was the top of Balmanno Street, where, on Sabbath evenings, mounted on a chair, he proclaimed the unsearchable riches of Christ. Nor were these labours unrewarded; for a congregation as attached as ever pastor possessed soon gathered round him. It is worthy of remark, that of his early church a considerable proportion were weavers from Bridgeton. At that time weaving and weavers were in their palmy days. Bridgeton was then more than now separated from Glasgow. The Independents residing in the village, constrained perhaps by a feeling then running strong against their principles, kept much by themselves. On Sabbath mornings they were accustomed to meet, to 'go up' in company, to Albion Street; and in the same manner to return. Their departure caused quite a sensation in their quiet neighbourhood, and as they passed might be heard the remark, 'There goes Wardlaw's brigade.'* Frequently the Doctor visited that locality, and, as old people tell, it was a great day when the pastor came to converse with the parents, and catechise the children of the families under his charge. Only one of the 'brigade' remains—frail and deaf now. Almost the last visit the Doctor

* It was probably one of these whose "experience" was narrated to his pastor in the following terms:—"Come awa, Doctor, I maun just tell ye a bit o' my experience. When I was a young man, I sat and heard Dr. ——, but it was puir stuff; there wasna picking for a ewe; and ane o' my neebours advised me to gang and hear Dr. Balfour; it was gude feeding there, a man micht wade up to the belly amang rye grass and clover. I thocht mysel real gude then, I was weel pleased wi' mysel, and I began to mak family worship, and a bonny booch I made o't. Somebody spoke about you, and I thocht I wad gang and hear ye. And oh, Doctor, naebody ever rippet up the monieplies o' my heart as ye did. Ye showed me what a puir sinfu cratur I was, ye didna leave me a fut to stand on; and noo I'm lying here, doctor, just trusting to the righteousness o' Christ, and waiting his time to free me frae a' my sins."

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made was to this old man. How interesting that meeting to one of sensibilities so fine as his! Deafness prevented much mutual conversation—but there was the affectionate look and the warm grasp of the hand, and perhaps a reflection on the time when, fifty years ago, the weaver lad and the young pastor met. On rising to depart the old man said, 'Will you pray, Doctor?' 'No,' was the reply, 'pray yourself for us both, for you know, Alexander, I can hear you, but you cannot *now* hear me.'"

From the commencement of his ministry, Mr. Wardlaw followed the goodly practice universal in the Scottish churches, and borrowed from the usage of primitive times, of devoting one part of the Lord's day to the regular and continuous exposition of one of the books of Scripture. To this usage, affording as it does so much scope for the elucidation of divine truth in the form in which it issued from the inspired pens, and constraining the speaker to withdraw from mere general disquisition or declamation, and to follow the footsteps of the divine teacher, must be ascribed principally that extent and accuracy of scriptural knowledge in which the Scottish people as a mass undoubtedly surpass all other nations. It is usual to devote the forenoon of the Lord's day to this service, whilst the afternoon is set apart for a sermon according to the usual model of such discourses. This plan Mr. Wardlaw pursued throughout his ministerial life.

It was his habit at this period of his ministry to deliver his discourses either from memory after he had written them fully and carefully out, or from meditation after having put down in writing an outline of what he meant to say—the latter being by much the more frequent plan with him. Discourses so delivered were probably wanting in that minute accuracy and grace of expression which characterised his later compositions after he adopted the plan of reading whatever he uttered from the pulpit; but I have heard those who were in the habit of listening to him at this time express their regret at the absence from his later discourses of that pungency and animation which his earlier discourses seldom wanted. "I have heard individuals,"

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says the Rev. J. S. Wardlaw, "speak in glowing terms of the '*extempore* sermons' of these early days. Many greatly regretted his taking to reading his discourses, and I remember his telling me of some worthy member of his congregation who said that for long after he began to 'use the paper,' he always felt ready to cry out to him in the words spoken of Lazarus, 'Loose him and let him go.'"

In connection with this the following anecdote has much interest:—"At an early period of his ministry he was selected to preach a charity sermon in the Old Chapel of Ease. When, on the appointed Sabbath evening, he reached the place, the building (then the largest in the city) was crowded to overflowing. Whether it was the sight of the crowd that startled him out of self-possession, or one of those fits of tremor to which most preachers are at times exposed, we know not—but he lost all recollection of his discourse. He did not at that period use 'notes,' and great was his alarm. With no very pleasant feelings he was walking up and down the vestry, when Dr. Balfour, of the High Church, entered to bid him God speed. He at once explained his position, and urged him to take his place. 'No,' said the old Doctor, in his own earnest way, 'No; go up, my son—go up, my son, and your Master will go with you.' He, however, commenced the worship, to give the preacher a little time for meditation; but still his mind remained a blank; and not till he ascended the pulpit and engaged in prayer, did the whole flash upon his memory, and, with great power, he delivered a most eloquent discourse."*

But whilst he used this method of free speech so extensively in his early pulpit addresses, the natural tendency of his mind was from the first to the correct and the polished rather than to the energetic and the forcible in public discourse. His former class-fellow Dr. Muir gives a recollection of one of his earlier sermons, which he happened to hear, as follows:—"When first he began to preach I went as his early class-fellow to hear him in his Albion Street Chapel. His text was, 'He is despised

* Recollections of Dr. Wardlaw in the Young Men's Magazine for Feb. 1854.

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and rejected of men;' and I thought I heard Professor Richardson himself in the pulpit, whilst his former pupil Mr. Wardlaw elegantly described the pride of rank and riches—the pride of self-righteousness—and the pride of worldly wisdom, as the ordinary hindrances in our day to men's receiving Christ and the truth as it is in Jesus. These things I mention," he adds, "to show that the classic eloquence of style, and the philological knowledge for which his writings in riper years are distinguished, were qualities which he imbibed in early life, as well as qualities which grew with his growth, till he died."*

At the commencement of his ministry, and for many years afterwards, Mr. Wardlaw attended most conscientiously and regularly to the visitation of his flock. "My dear father," writes Mr. J. S. Wardlaw, "attached great importance, in connexion with his ministerial work, to *pastoral visitation*. He thought it was attended with great advantages both to the pastor himself and to the people of his charge; and in former years he carried out the practice in a most regular and systematic manner. Besides visiting the *sick* as occasion required, he devoted a day every week during a considerable part of the year—if I mistake not—to the specific purpose of going amongst the members of his flock, inquiring into their circumstances, and those of their respective families, imparting such counsel as was needed, reading a portion of Scripture, and praying with them and for them. The disorder from which in later years he suffered rendered it necessary for him in some measure, if not entirely, to abandon this practice—confining himself chiefly to the visitation of the sick; and in no way did he feel his affliction so much *a trial*, as in being thus obliged to give up what was, in his view, so interesting and useful a department of ministerial duty. A day of pastoral visitation was with him a day of really hard labour; and he got through a good deal each time—for he was naturally of a very active habit, and capable of much greater physical exertion than might have been supposed. He not unfrequently

* Letter to W. Wardlaw, Esq.

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walked four or five miles into the country, visited some eight or ten families, and then walked back to a late dinner."

Much of his time was, during the earlier years of his ministry, devoted to systematic study. His reading was pursued on plan, and with a definite object. It was chiefly theological, but embraced also courses in ethics, philosophy, and history. He read largely at this period in a department to which, at a later period, he did not attach much importance, the works of the Greek and Latin fathers. Perhaps he had satisfied himself, that for the kind of theology to which his convictions and inclinations called him, these writings are of but small value.

In connection with his other studies, he began at this time to contribute to the pages of the Missionary Magazine, to which he had formerly sent some hymns, articles of a didactic and theological cast. His first contribution appeared in the number for January 1804; it is entitled, "Observations on Eccles. vii. 16," and is in substance the same as he afterwards published in his exposition of this passage in his Lectures on Ecclesiastes. Subsequent contributions will be noticed in due course.

The following letter belongs to this period of his life:—

To James Ogilvie, Esq., Leith.

Glasgow, 26th July 1804.

My dear James—Yours of the 5th which I duly received gave me, you may readily believe, very peculiar satisfaction. The thought of having been, through the blessing of the Lord, the instrument of good to your soul brought the tear of heartfelt joy to my eyes. You never told me this so plainly till now, and strong as my regard and affection for you were formerly, this has produced a *tenderness* of attachment which I am sure will be reciprocal, and which I think is fully warranted by several parts of Paul's epistles to his converts. I feel with regard to all my flock, but *peculiarly* towards you and one or two more, the deep interest expressed in these words, "Now we *live* if ye stand fast in the Lord." "What is our hope or joy or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? For ye are our glory and joy!" Yet the thought of being made the instrument of spiritual good to others, while it is joyful and encouraging, is also very *humbling*. It leads to searching of heart. Our great danger is that of getting into the habit of studying *for others*, and forgetting to put the question to ourselves, "Do I feel the power of that truth which I preach to others?" The Lord make and keep me more humble-minded and self-vigilant, keep me from envying the success of others, or from feeling any improper exultation in my own! "Not unto *us*,

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not unto *us*, but to *thy* NAME give glory, for thy *mercy* and for thy *truth's* sake!" . . . .

You ask my opinion of the sentence you quote respecting Cowper. I have no doubt that Cowper's gloom was in some measure increased and confirmed by unscriptural views of the faith of the gospel, which is so simple in the Bible, but round which such a mystic obscurity has been so often thrown by men; to whose *ingenuity* the *simplicity* of the truth gives too little exercise. The idea of *faith* as an inexplicable labour, or a course of various indescribable actings, must ever keep the mind in bondage; and a sentiment of Pirie of Newburgh fully meets my approbation—"If a man be right in that which he believes, there is very little fear or danger as to the manner of his believing it." As to the sentence you quote, it does not seem that the false idea ascribed to Cowper is approved by the writer, but rather the contrary; though the *connection* and *scope* of the *passage* must determine the author's views and not a detached sentence.

I hope you will be on your guard with —— and ——. Study by all means to impress their minds with the infinite importance, and to lead them to consider the simplicity of divine truth. 'But,' as I said before, so say I now again, "beware of *disputation*." See to exhibit the blessed influence of the truth in your manner of speaking about it as in every thing else. Shew them that you feel its supreme importance and preciousness to your own soul, and that you are particularly concerned for the welfare of theirs. Remember always that you may silence a person in an argument, and yet do his soul no good, perhaps harm. Let brotherly affection guide all your words and conduct towards them. And let *the Truth*, rather than any of its *appendages*, however important in their place, be the *first* subject in your conversations. And may you have the great happiness of seeing them "walking in the truth." . . . .

On Monday or Tuesday night last some *sacrilegious* villain or villains have found their way into Albion Street Chapel and made off with the candle-branches at the pulpit and precentor's desk, and the collection plate!!! Enquiry is making to-day, as the matter was not discovered till last night. I have no hope of success, as all ere this are probably *broken* into *old* pewter and brass and sold as such.

I do not recollect if you had left us at the time A. S. was admitted. Very soon after his admission he fell before his old habit (tippling) in a very grievous degree, and accompanied this sin with lying and swearing. We were under the necessity of cutting him off; he is displeased at this, and his subsequent conduct has fully justified the sentence. He professed at his admission to have undergone a saving change, and seemed to have much simplicity about him. We conceived him, in having abstained from liquor for nine months before, to have been acting under the influence of the truth, or at least for the three last months. Since, however, we have found that his abstinence was the result of a *resolution* made and written out; extending *just to the time when he fell!* After his fall he wrote out another similar resolution, and broke it immediately! I took it up on the ground that from ignorance of circumstances we had *mistaken his character* at his admission, &c.

We are, however, going on pleasantly. Brotherly love continues. Bless the Lord! A collection was made last Lord's day, in the Tab., for the Ulster Ev. Soc.—about £40. There is to be one next Sab. in A. St. Ch.

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He preached a very good impressive sermon with us last Sabbath evening from "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these?"

With kind love to all friends, &c., I remain, &c.

RALPH WARDLAW.

In May 1804 Mr. Wardlaw received into his family as a boarder a son of his friend Dr. Charles Stuart. This was the commencement of a practice which he continued for many years, of receiving a very limited number (never I believe at any time exceeding two) of such boarders into his house. To some of these we shall have occasion afterwards particularly to refer.

In October of this year Mr. Wardlaw became a father by the birth to him of a daughter. Of his feelings on this occasion no record remains; but those who know how deep and full was the fountain of parental tenderness in his bosom, can easily imagine with what thrilling emotion the first opening of that fountain must have been accompanied.

At the commencement of the College session 1804-5 a pleasing addition was made to the circle of Mr. Wardlaw's society by the arrival of three English students, Messrs. Fletcher, Payne and Burder, who having finished their studies at Hoxton Academy, came to Glasgow to enjoy those further advantages of literary and philosophic culture which the universities of their own country denied to Dissenters from the Established Church. This was a novelty in those days in Glasgow; and the arrival of the three strangers for such a purpose seems to have produced some little excitement in the social and literary circles of that city. To Mr. Wardlaw the event was one of peculiar interest and of permanent consequences. It brought to him new impulses, surrounded him with new and congenial associates, and was the commencement of friendships of the closest kind which lasted for life. "We somehow," says he himself in reference to this period and these friends, "took mightily to each other. I look back," he adds, "with a pensive pleasure on those bygone days. They were days of real pleasure. We enjoyed their society and they ours. They knew and felt that they were always welcome—the door at all seasons open to them. And

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many were the happy evenings, when the business of their classes (to which they all applied themselves with such exemplary and successful assiduity) permitted, which we spent together in easy, friendly, lively intercourse—conversing on every variety of topic, lighter or more serious; and blending and relieving conversation with interludes of music, in which they were all adepts in their respective parts, and formed a first-rate trio in singing 'the songs of Zion.'"* In subsequent years, other students from the south came to Glasgow on the same errand; and although there were among these some "who were neither less eminent, less intimate nor less loved, yet the number increasing, and the attachment necessarily becoming to a certain degree diluted by diffusion," it was wont to be a common saying in his household with respect to some, "they were honourable among the thirty, but they did not attain to the first three."

For the strong, intimate and lasting attachment formed between Mr. Wardlaw and these three brethren from the south, there were many things to account. All were nearly of the same age; all were engaged in the same pursuits; all were men whose temperament inclined them for friendship; and all had a certain congeniality of taste and talent, along with just enough of diversity to make each independent of the rest and capable of communicating something specially his own to the common stock. In all of them a bias towards philosophic pursuits was strongly developed, but this was modified in each by tastes or habits peculiar to himself. In Payne, the purely metaphysical element predominated; his genius was pre-eminently dialectic and analytic; imagination he had none, and of fancy just enough to enable him to utter pungent and sometimes sarcastic criticisms; but his subtlety was prodigious, and in the conflict of pure reason his acumen was hardly ever at fault. In Fletcher there was more of the literary element; he had a fine sense of the beautiful in thought and expression; his taste was exquisite, and his imagination, if not rich, was full of graceful

* Reminiscences of Dr. Payne; Payne's Life by Davies, p. cxxxiv.

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images and analogies; his incursions into the field of general knowledge were large and fruitful; and though he was inferior to the former in subtlety, there was a certain breadth and massiveness in his thinking which compensated for any deficiency of mere logical precision with which occasionally it might be chargeable. In Burder the qualifying element came from the practical side of his nature; he valued philosophy chiefly for the aids it furnished to mental culture and the great purposes of life; and if he did not shine in dispute or dazzle by his eloquence, his sagacity, his prudence and his fine sense of propriety gave weight and dignity to all he uttered. In the subject of this memoir all these peculiarities by which his friends were distinguished were in some measure united. In metaphysical hair-splitting he had as great a delight as the first; in literary culture and taste he at least equalled the second; and in practical wisdom, prudence and knowledge of human nature he was not far behind the third. In him, therefore, each found a congenial centre, whilst there was something derived from his Scottish shrewdness and his Scottish training that gave him distinctiveness of mental character as compared with them, and enabled him, whilst he sympathised with all of them in their favourite pursuits or modes of thought, to preserve his own individuality, and in consequence to add to them something which none of them possessed.

Of this band of brothers, all of whom have risen to eminence as authors and as ministers, and all of whom have been honoured as professors in institutions for the education of young men for the ministry, only one now survives, the Rev. Dr. Burder. From him I have been favoured with the following communication, relating principally to this period:—

To the Rev. Dr. W. L. Alexander.

You have requested me, my dear brother, to send you some reminiscences of my beloved friend Dr. Wardlaw, especially in relation to the period during which I was a student at Glasgow University. This is a request with which it gives me pleasure promptly to comply.

My recollections of the three years I spent at Glasgow are so associated with pleasurable impressions, that every effort of memory is still an element

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of delight. The scenes and the engagements of that period of study are even now so vividly before me, that I am really astonished to find that fifty years have rolled away since, with my beloved and lamented fellow-students, George Payne and Joseph Fletcher, I first arrived in Glasgow.

Having with me a letter from my revered father to the Rev. Greville Ewing, we called on him as soon as we had reached our destination. His kindness and friendliness were of no common order; for he not only invited, but constrained us to spend a week at his house before he would allow us even to make inquiries for apartments. The kindness and friendliness of Mrs. Ewing were also above all praise.

We were without delay introduced to Dr. Wardlaw, who had just become a father, and had recently entered on his pastorate at Albion Street Chapel. It would scarcely be possible for me to speak too strongly of the kindness and hospitality of Dr. and Mrs. Wardlaw. During the whole of our college course we felt towards Mr. Ewing as towards a father, and we regarded Dr. Wardlaw as an elder brother. I believe I may truly say that scarcely a week elapsed during our residence in Glasgow, in which we were not cheered by the hospitality, and edified by the conversation, either of Mr. and Mrs. Ewing, or of Dr. and Mrs. Wardlaw.

We were deeply indebted to both these distinguished and enlightened ministers of Christ for the benefit we derived from their pulpit discourses. We had usually the pleasure of hearing each of them once on the Lord's day; and occasionally we heard other ministers of some eminence in Glasgow, particularly Dr. Balfour, who was distinguished by the power and the eloquence of his faithful ministrations. We had the benefit of hearing a considerable number of two courses of expository lectures—the one by Mr. Ewing and the other by Dr. Wardlaw. I refer to Mr. Ewing's lectures on the book of Genesis, and to Dr. Wardlaw's on the Epistle to the Romans. Each of these courses of lectures was distinguished by peculiar and characteristic excellences. I was very earnestly desirous, both at that time and in subsequent years, that these lectures on the Epistle to the Romans should be committed to the press. I am happy to think, that although I could not prevail on my valued friend to publish them during his life, yet after delivering them, I believe, a second time from the pulpit, and reading them in his theological lectures to the students, he was induced to prepare them, to some extent, for the press, and that they will shortly be given to the public. I shall regard them as his richest legacy to the church, and especially to its rising ministry.

I retain a grateful sense of my obligations to these two eminent and devoted ministers of Christ, for most valuable aids, both from the pulpit and from conversation, in the endeavour to attain clear and scriptural views of the economy of redemption, in its essential truths, and in their various bearings. I think also I was much assisted in forming correct views of the constitution and discipline of a Christian church, so far as we may gather from the New Testament, the instructions and the practice of the Apostles.

Both Mr. Ewing and Dr. Wardlaw evinced a lively interest in our college studies; and so desirous was Dr. Wardlaw of retaining the freshness of his own attainments in the Greek language, that he attended with us, during one session, the entire course, which was called the private Greek class of that distinguished scholar the late Professor Young.

Not unfrequently, during the latter part of our college course, were

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my two associates in study and myself, kindly invited, both by Mr. Ewing and by Dr. Wardlaw, to assist them in pulpit services; and, under their auspices we were often engaged on Sabbath evenings in giving addresses to Sabbath-schools, or in preaching in neighbouring villages.

The entire period of our course of study at Glasgow was one of intellectual, social, and religious enjoyment and improvement; and through the kindness of Mr. Ewing, Dr. Wardlaw, and Dr. Balfour, we were introduced to a large circle of intelligent, educated, and Christian friends, from whom we received an extent of kind hospitality which I can never forget.

The correspondence by letter with my beloved friend Dr. Wardlaw was kept up throughout all the years which succeeded my studies at Glasgow; and although, as he often acknowledged, he was dilatory in reply, yet his letters, when they arrived, amply compensated, by their interesting contents, and their admirable felicity of tone, of spirit and of expression, for the procrastination confessed.

Great and invariable was the delight imparted to myself and to Mrs. Burder whenever Dr. and Mrs. Wardlaw visited our metropolis, as they were kindly accustomed to favour us with as much of their company as was compatible with other claims, and to regard our house as one, at least, of their London homes, where they well knew that they would receive a most cordial welcome. It may well be supposed, that after a friendship so matured and so endeared, my sympathies with my bereaved and beloved friend Mrs. Wardlaw and her mourning family, have a depth and a tenderness which only such a friendship could produce. May the richest and the strongest of all consolations be poured into their hearts by Him who has most mercifully engaged to be a husband to the widow, and a father to the fatherless.

In the spring of 1805 Mr. Wardlaw paid his first visit to London, where he remained several weeks. His object appears principally to have been to attend the meetings of the great religious societies annually held in that city in the month of May. These, at any rate, occupied the chief part of his attention and interest, and it is to them that his letters to his friends at home chiefly relate. Soon after his arrival he attended a meeting of the Committee of the Bible Society, at which it was mentioned that "the accounts of the society present upwards of £1200 of annual subscriptions, and £5000 and above stock in hand." It is amusing now to find him, after reporting this, adding, "This is very well; it is an object for which there cannot be too much."* What would he have said if he had been told that he should live to see that same society with an annual income, from contributions, of upwards of £50,000, besides an equal sum from the sale of bibles and testaments? At the

* To his father, April 22, 1805.

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public meeting of this society he seems to have been somewhat discomposed by the multitude of votes of thanks that were passed. Thanks to the secretaries, thanks to the chairman, thanks to this donor and the other donor, thanks to the Presbytery of Glasgow, thanks to all dissenting congregations that had supported the object in England, Scotland, and Wales, &c. &c. A perfect deluge of gratitude seems to have swept over the meeting, a little overwhelming to the inexperienced and unsophisticated Scotchman. He mentions, however, the pleasure he derived from Dr. Steinkop's brief reply in acknowledgment of the vote of thanks to the secretaries, whose "few sentences," says he, "spoken with much simplicity and pathos, coming warm from a simple affectionate heart, and expressed in broken English, which, added to the interesting effect, made a very pleasing impression."* One meeting which he appears to have peculiarly relished, was the breakfast meeting of the Tract Society. These morning gatherings are now, I believe, no longer held; but Mr. Wardlaw is not the only one who has celebrated their praises. To all who have had an opportunity of being present at them, they form the subject of peculiarly pleasing reminiscences, as, if not the most imposing, certainly the heartiest and most exhilarating of all the religious anniversaries of the metropolis.

Whilst in London on this occasion Mr. Wardlaw had the opportunity of making the personal acquaintance of several of the distinguished and excellent men who then sustained leading positions in the religious society of the metropolis. The thrice-venerable John Newton was still upon the field, and though Mr. Wardlaw was disappointed on going to hear him preach to find a substitute for him in the pulpit, he had the satisfaction of being introduced to him, and visiting him in his own house. The singing in Mr. Newton's church attracted his attention by its antiquated character and its dulness. "I heard in Mr. Newton's church as antiquated singing as ever you heard in Scotland. You might have taken the clerk for an old woman from the

* To his father, May 7, 1805.

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pulpit stair in Dunfermline, dressed up a-purpose. He sung one of the oldest Scotch tunes and in the oldest Scotch Presbyterian style, except that he read two lines at once."* Among those whose acquaintance he formed at this time occur also the honoured names of Dr. Simpson, President of Hoxton College; Captain Wilson of the ship Duff; Joseph Hardcastle, Esq.; Rev. M. Wilks; Rev. Geo. Burder; Rev. Dr. Haweis; Rev. W. Roby of Manchester; and others. In the society of such men and of many old friends who had gone to reside in London and whom he delighted to meet again, he spent hours of refreshing and reviving intercourse that proved alike beneficial to body and mind.

Of the "sights" of London he seems to have run through the usual routine, but without being very greatly enraptured in consequence. The palace of St. James's he thought a very poor affair—"a building on which you would look for some such inscription as 'these extensive alms-houses were built and endowed by King Henry the Eighth.'" Carlton House he thought much more noble, though the front struck him as rather low, and the stone appeared black and sombre. The front of the India House pleased him better; but Somerset House outstripped all he had seen in grandeur of appearance. At a review in Hyde Park he saw the King (George III.), the Prince of Wales and the Dukes of York and Kent, &c. &c. What he exclusively notes of this occasion is that the day was blowy and the dust insufferable, and that the King, for all his majesty, got as much of it as any of his subjects. In passing he made a run into St. Paul's but could not ascend the stairs, as service was going on; so after traversing the area he came out and "went to see a panorama or two." It is evident that it was not for sights and shows of this sort that he had travelled to London, and that such things had few attractions for him and left little impression upon him.

Mr. Wardlaw returned home in the end of May, and in July he had the satisfaction of again meeting with Mr. Fuller, who this year paid his last visit to Scotland. His object was as before, the promotion of the interests of the Baptist Missionary Society, and

* To Mrs. Wardlaw, April 28th, 1805.

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in behalf of this he preached several times in Glasgow. Writing to his wife, who was at this time at Helensburgh, Mr. Wardlaw says,* "You will have heard from Mr. Fletcher of Mr. Fuller's Friday evening sermon. We had a very sweet, refreshing and impressive discourse from him yesterday forenoon from John xv. 7. It was truly 'a feast of fat things.' He preached in Mr. Deakin's meeting in the afternoon . . . . . In the Tabernacle (Mr. Ewing's) in the evening he had some of his master strokes from Rev. i. 18.† The collections, all things considered, were *wonderful.* We had in the morning £77 : 6s., and in the Tabernacle throughout the day, £100 : 2s. In Mr. Deakin's from £8 to £9." After giving a list of the collections in different towns where Mr. Fuller had preached, and of the places where he purposed to preach on his way home, he adds "Hard work! May the Lord prosper him!"

The lively interest which Mr. Wardlaw took in Mr. Fuller's labours and success on this occasion was prompted partly by his affection for the man, partly by his love for the cause which he came to plead. It is the more worthy of being noted, however, at this time, because there were reasons which *might* have induced Mr. Wardlaw rather to deprecate than to court Mr. Fuller's presence in Scotland. Mr. F. it is well known was a zealous Baptist, and as Baptist sentiments were just at this time beginning to agitate the Congregational churches of Scotland, the visit of so able and so venerated an advocate of these sentiments could hardly be regarded without some anxiety by those who were opposed to them. In Mr. Wardlaw's bosom especially such feelings might have arisen, for not only was he warmly opposed to the views of the Antipædobaptists, but he had experienced some vexation from the agitation of the question in his own church, and from these views having been embraced by some of his dearest friends and relatives. No feeling of this sort, however, appears to have, even for a moment, passed across his spirit. Everything of mere personal or denominational in-

* July 22, 1805.

† See notes of a sermon on this text in Fuller's Works, vol. v. p 278.

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terest was absorbed and lost in his admiration of the preacher and his desire for the success of his mission.

In October 1805 another daughter was born to Mr. Wardlaw, This child was only spared a few months; in June 1806 she was removed by death, and her parents learnt for the first time at once the bitterness and the blessedness of such a trial—bitterness because of the bond that has been wrenched asunder—blessedness because of the abundant assurance which Scripture supplies that those who die in infancy are not only taken from the evil to come, but are gathered as lambs into the bosom of the Great Shepherd.

In the beginning of 1806 Mr. Wardlaw resumed his contributions to the Missionary Magazine, which for some reason he had intermitted after his first paper in January 1804. The following are the titles of the articles he contributed this year:—*On Lying*, in the February number; *Observations on* 2 *Cor.* v. 1-4, April number; *Hints in familiar verse on the Conduct of Religious Controversy*, May number; *Remarks on Romans* v. 12, *respecting Original Guilt and the Nature and Extent of the Curse connected with it.* Of these papers the most remarkable is the one in verse; not certainly for its poetical qualities, but for the principles which it enunciates as to the proper method and spirit of religious controversy—principles which the author was as careful to practise in his subsequent career as he had been anxious in the outset of it to recommend to others.*

In July of this year Mr. Wardlaw, whilst spending a few weeks in Edinburgh, met for the first time John Walker of Dublin. This remarkable man, whose splendid abilities and whose great attainments in almost every branch of academical learning made him the pride of his University, had some time before this resigned his fellowship in the University and his preferments in the Church of Ireland, in obedience to conscientious convictions which forbade him to regard ecclesiastical establishments as accordant with the will of God. Unhappily a tendency to extreme opinions led him on from this point to an almost entire separation from Christian fellowship; it being only with the few

* The reader will find this piece in Appendix D.

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who agreed with him on *every* point—that is in point of fact, the few who would consent to receive implicitly the views which he himself had embraced—that he deemed it right to hold communion in any religious exercise. Notwithstanding this exclusiveness in the matter of Christian fellowship his natural temper was genial and friendly, and his great accomplishments rendering his society highly attractive, he not only drew around him a body of attached disciples so that he became the founder of a sect—that of the Separatists—but also for many years was a welcome and influential visitor in general society. Mr. Wardlaw was charmed with his presence but repelled by his principles. "He is truly a pleasant man," he writes; "has an open countenance, manly yet mild in its expression; a soft, mellow, rather plaintive voice; is courteously yet unaffectedly polite; is fond of free communication on religious subjects; speaks with calm, temperate deliberation; hears with patient and seemingly candid attention. I cannot but feel deeply grieved, after what I have seen of him, that he should have gone so far wrong as he seems to me to have done, not only in his ideas of marked separation but in what is connected with it, his intolerably contracted notions of Christian communion. He avows that his sentiments carry him the full length of holding *no* visible fellowship with any who differ from him as to *anything* which he conceives to be of Scriptural obligation. I have purposely asked him this more than once."* How alien such sentiments were from his own views and feelings on the subject of Christian fellowship the following extract from a subsequent letter will make apparent, whilst it will at the same time supply a still fuller exposition of Mr. Walker's opinions:—"I have been informed of what I expected, indeed, to hear, that Messrs. B. and M. have been immersed since I left home. I cannot but feel grieved at the extension of sentiments which I am more and more convinced are in pointed opposition to the general tenor of Scripture and to many of its express declarations; yet, while I see reason to believe that any one is in this matter conscientiously following

* To his father, 24th July 1806.

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the convictions of his mind from examination of the Word, I cannot find in my heart to say, 'Stand by thyself.' If Mr. Walker were at my elbow looking on, he would turn up his large eyeballs and say in a plaintive but firm tone of solemn concern, 'Ah! my good friend, you are all in the wrong.' Well, if I be wrong on one side I am *sure* he is wrong on the other. What I am going to mention will shew you his views as *exemplified* by himself. You must know that a set conference took place on Tuesday at Portobello on matters of difference: Present, Messrs. Walker and his friend Robison, Dr. Stuart, Mr. [J. A.] Haldane, Mr. Aikman and myself. I should always wish to hear such subjects discussed in like manner, with calm, patient, mild deliberation. The result, however, so far as yet appears, was non-conviction on either side. Mr. Walker, I understand (for I was obliged to go before the termination of the meeting), said in reply to a question by Mr. Haldane, that he would have had no objection to having prefaced the conversation with prayer to God for direction; on the contrary, that he had himself once thought of proposing it, which Mr. H. was prevented from doing by supposing it would be unpleasant to him. Well; last night Dr. S. sent by Mr. Robison an inquiry to Mr. W., whether he would have any objections to meet for prayer in Mr. Aikman's this morning, to which the reply was, in substance, that with a grieved heart he was obliged to answer in the negative; that though he would with pleasure have joined previous to our conversation in seeking the divine blessing on our communications, yet after having stated his view of the mind of God, as we did not submit to it, but persisted in what he considered as error, he could not have fellowship with such! Yet he views us as partakers of the same grace and lovers of the same Saviour, and therefore surely must expect to join with us in singing the praise of God and the Lamb for ever. This appears to me very awful. From such views 'Good Lord deliver us.'"* One can readily imagine how sincerely and earnestly a man of Mr. Wardlaw's

* To his father, 31st July 1806.

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spirit and principles would utter such a prayer; and yet, though abhorring Mr. Walker's sentiments he did full justice, both in his own soul and in expressions to others, to the excellence of the man. "I esteem him after all highly," he writes, "as a lover of the truth and a *clear* and *earnest* preacher of it . . . . I believe him to be conscientious and to act in love, and that he really is convinced of the truth of what he says, that forbearance has done as much if not more harm to the church of Christ than Antichrist! and that mutual communication of views with reference to the Word of God, such intercourse as we had with him in Edinburgh, generally prevailing among Christians, with *no forbearance*, is the only way in which that *visible unity* of the church prayed for by our Lord in John xvii. is likely to be effected."*

The adoption of Baptist sentiments by several members of his church, and the agitation of other differences of opinion on religious questions among the Congregationalists of Scotland, which had at this time begun to prevail, must have given peculiar interest to these conferences and discussions on the subject of forbearance in the mind of Mr. Wardlaw. He felt that the subject was not altogether free from difficulties; and, however his own feelings might induce him to carry forbearance to the fullest extent in the matter of fellowship with Christians differently minded from himself on minor points, there were many considerations which as the pastor of a church where all were not prepared to go the same length in liberality either of sentiment or practice with himself, it behoved him carefully to ponder before he assumed any very decided course of action. "Baptist sentiments," he writes to Mr. Burder, "have been rather gaining ground in Albion Street Church. Your friends Mr. and Mrs. B., D. M., together with H. L., and two or three more, have lately been rebaptised. They hitherto, with one or two exceptions, continue amongst us. There is, however, some *demur* on this subject, arising among some of the members, who now begin to think and feel differently from the danger, as they apprehend there is, of the leaven leavening the lump. . . . .

* To Rev. H. F. Burder, 8th August 1806.

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The matter is to come before us to-night. Some of the brethren are very decided against their remaining, and what may be the final result is more than I can at present with any clearness foresee. My own mind is the same on this subject as formerly." What his own mind on the subject was may be gathered from the passages above cited from his correspondence, and from the following sentence in the same letter:—"There are extremes on both sides; and I know few subjects more perplexing than the boundaries of Christian forbearance." How the question was settled in the church I cannot exactly state; but I believe the less liberal side prevailed, so far at least as to produce a sort of compromise to the effect that persons holding Antipædobaptist sentiments might be admitted to the Lord's table with the church, but not to all the privileges and immunities of full membership.

In connection with this subject the following letter will be read with interest as containing Mr. Wardlaw's views on the authority for infant baptism at this period.

To Archibald Smith, Esq.

Glasgow, March 28th, 1805.

My Dear Archy—I have been much too long of complying with your request in one of your letters to John, to give you my opinion on a subject which has of late occupied much of your attention. Instead of vainly attempting to account for this delay I shall *now* proceed to offer a few remarks for your consideration, although your letter I must confess does not inspire me with very sanguine hopes of convincing you; for he who attaches to one side of a question the phrases "boasted argument," "air of triumph," &c., it is very plain that he himself has come the length of *making* a *flourish* on the other. On which side of *this* question there has been the largest measure of vainglorying I could almost leave it to yourself to say.

You observe that reasoning from analogy and inference is inadmissible as to a positive ordinance. Take care that this principle does not carry you too far. The command to circumcise children, it is true, *was* clear and express. So was the command to observe the seventh day, Sabbath. I do not think you will say that the command to observe the *first* day *now* is as clear and express as that to observe the *seventh* was of old. But upon your principle, it ought and must have been so to give us any warrant for our practice. *I* think indeed there is a precept for this in Heb. iv. 9, but still this is not so clear but that many *untrammelled* searchers of the Scriptures understand it differently. All that remains with regard to the *sanctification* of the first day of the week in place of the seventh is *inference*, from hints which require considerable supplement. For observe, I disclaim, as I hope

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you do, the loose modern Glassite view of the Lord's day as differing from other days only in the circumstance of the disciples on that day *coming together* for worship.

You say "what cannot be proved from the writings of the Apostles no man has a right to establish from the book of Genesis." This is a mere bravado. If there is, as will be admitted, a universal harmony in the Word of God, does it not follow that whatever is *established* from one part of it is as *really* and *effectually* established as it could have been from any other? If I attempt to prove from Moses anything opposite to the writings of Paul I am wrong; but if you make Paul inconsistent with Moses you are equally wrong. I do not at present say that the Baptist scheme does this; but only that from the universal concord of the Word of God, we have a right to draw our evidence from *every* part of it, even the *remotest* book, and that as to *every* sentiment and *every* practice.

To *me* it appears to be of the greatest importance in reading the New Testament that we should understand and attend to the state of things previous to it. The reason is obvious. The language of the New Testament we should expect to be modified in some measure by these existing circumstances; and a variety of the expressions used we shall be unable rightly to appreciate without taking into view a reference to what already existed and was known, and the existence and knowledge of which rendered greater enlargement and minuteness unnecessary. If I find anything existing for many generations before the introduction of the N. T. D., upon your principle of the necessity of express precept, I am warranted to expect a clear and formal repeal. This is as much a *positive* thing as its previous existence was. It is a *positive change.* As to the connection between believing parents and their seed in former ages being, of *the same kind* with that for which Pædobaptists contend as existing *now*, this may be matter of after consideration. But *supposing* this similarity to be well-founded, as I do, I find no express declaration of a *change* in this respect in the New Testament. The *rite* is altered, but *this* remains. Taking these remarks, as to previously existing ideas and circumstances affecting the language of the New Testament speakers and writers along with me, I think there are passages and facts which *obviously* in my mind, though *more* and *less* so, favour the practice of infant baptism. I. (Acts ii. 38, 39) "Your children," in this passage, say Baptists, signifies "as many of your adult descendants as may hereafter believe." It is true that the term *children may* signify adult descendants. But the question is—"Is this the most natural interpretation of it in this text?" 1. Is not this language such as Peter's present audience, considering the ideas they were accustomed to entertain, would understand in a very different sense? And is it possible that Peter should use expressions which to his countrymen, who were then his hearers, were calculated to convey, at the very outset, false ideas of Messiah's kingdom? 2. Is it *natural* to suppose their children to be mentioned in *such* a sense as that above; while in this view their parents had no more connection with them than with the inhabitants of China and Japan? Mr. M'Lean remarks, what indeed must strike every one, that Peter makes the promise to his auditors as extensive as their imprecation (Matt. xxvii. 25). But did not that imprecation include, *in the first instance*, their present offspring, their little ones? As to the promise, it makes very little difference as to the question whether it be understood of the promise made to Abraham—"I will be a

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God to *thee* and to *thy seed* after thee;" or of the promise of the Spirit, which is the immediate subject in the context. Understanding it of the latter, the extent of its application shows that it cannot be limited to the miraculous gifts of the Spirit. And it must be considered as including the whole of salvation, connecting it with verse 21st. Of this salvation it is at once a part and a pledge. The promise of the Spirit is a leading part of the promise of the new covenant, and is there too connected with the remission of sins (Heb. viii. 10-12; Ezek. xxxvi. 25-28; Jer. xxxi. 33, 34). It is a leading part too of the blessing of Abraham which is come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ (Gal. iii. 13, 14). This very promise was made of old in prophecy to believers and their offspring (Is. xliv. 3, 4). And that believers and their seed were under the new dispensation as well as of old to be connected together in the promises of the covenant appears also from Is. lxv. 23. Their offspring here, says Dr. Watt in last Edinburgh Evangelical Magazine, are their *successors in the faith*. Is this not *warping* the Scriptures? In the text their offspring happen to be "*with them*." You think the phrase "As many as the Lord our God shall call" signifies "As many of you and your children, and those that are afar off as the Lord shall call." On the contrary, it seems to me that the promise is in the *first* instance declared to be to them and to their children, *as Jews*, the *people of God*, the *seed of Abraham;* and in the second place, it is intimated, that it was not to be confined to them, but to extend to the *Gentiles* who were to be *called* into the church, and to partake of the blessings in the divine promise on the same footing with them. Agreeably to this view, remark, 1st, That the promise of the new covenant to be made in the last days is said to be to the *House of Israel* and the *House of Judah* (Heb. viii. 8, 9). It was accordingly *in the first instance* fulfilled to them. This agrees with Peter's address to the multitude of the Jews (Acts iii. 25, 26), and in no other view, as appears to me, and as I may endeavour afterwards to shew, can that address be naturally explained. Thus then Peter says, 1st, The promise is *to you and your children*. He then intimates, 2d, an enlargement of the Church by the *call* of the Gentiles. It matters not whether he fully understood it so or not. He spoke by the Spirit—"And to all that are afar off," &c.; and as the Gentiles are united into one church with the Jews, and that too not a *new* church, but the same which existed before Messiah came (see Eph. ii. 12, 13, 17, 19), it must be on the same footing; the promise is to them *and their children*. I may have occasion again to touch on the *sameness* of the church before and after Christ's coming, though in the latter period it is in many respects more perfect, and to point out more passages in confirmation of it, though I fear if I go on at this rate I shall never have done.

II. I shall now advert to the argument founded on the baptism of *households*. It appears to me almost impossible to deny that there is something peculiar and singular in the modes of expression on this point. "When she was baptized and her household" (Acts xvi. 15) sounds in my ears, though I know you will say from prejudice, very like an intimation by the by, that it was a thing usual and to be expected. "Thou shalt be saved and thy house" (xvi. 31) looks very like *some kind* of connection between a believer and his family; considering the words as used *previously* to the faith of either, and without reserve or explanation. A modern Baptist would certainly have been inclined to make the usual commentary to pre-

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vent mistakes—"on *their* believing." See too 1 Cor. i. 16. This language must, according to a former remark, be connected with previously existing ideas and circumstances; and perhaps I may even say that, taking these into view, the general mention of households is all the evidence we could reasonably have expected in the case. What our Lord says to Zaccheus seems to me to be a strong confirmation of the idea that these instances are to be referred to the existing and admitted connection between believing parents and their seed (Luke xix. 9). The blessing of Abraham came to Zaccheus, the jailer, Lydia, &c.—"I will be a God to thee and thy seed after thee." How could you explain the passage last referred to? It does not follow that the adult part of families are to be baptized on the faith of their respective heads. The Jewish *children* were circumcised in connection with their parents; *adult Jews* were circumcised by their own voluntary consent, and on a profession of their faith (Deut. xxix. 10-12 with Josh. v. 2, &c.)

But to all this you reply—"The case of the jailer, so much *talked of* by Pædobaptists as proving their side of the question, appears to me to prove the very contrary; for we are told that Paul and Silas spoke the word of the Lord to him and to *all that were in his house*, which supposes them capable of understanding and receiving what was spoken to them," &c. From this you and others conclude with certainty that there were *no children* in this family. It seems to me to be a very slenderly-founded conclusion. Such *general* expressions, you cannot deny, are quite common both in conversation and in writing. Either in the one or the other I would say. "I spoke to all in the house, to the whole family," without ever deeming it needful to make formal exception of infants who might form a part of it. That the expression here used is no evidence that there were no children here, admits of still clearer *proof*. Compare Deut. xxxi. 9-13; children formed a part of the assembly to which the Law was to be read. On the same principle they *might* form part of a family to which the word of the Lord was spoken. As to the jailer "believing with all his house," you know that the words might *as naturally* be rendered "believing in God, he rejoiced with all his house." But retaining them as they stand, they are to me on the above principle no decisive proof. "The *whole* family have of late become serious," I should without hesitation say of a family where there were children, and never think it needful to except them. The same remark applies to the description of the household of Stephanas, 1 Cor. xvi. 15. And as to the house of Lydia being the same persons with *the brethren* in Acts xvi. 40, it is perfect childish trifling. It is taking for granted the most improbable thing imaginable that the household of Lydia were the only other converts made at that time in Philippi. The succinctness of the history, which is in some other cases even greater, leaves me at full liberty to conclude that there were many more. To you I need not quote such instances; *one* only I shall notice. In Acts xviii. 23, it is said Paul went over the countries of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening *all the disciples*. All that had been said of these countries before is in ch. xvi. 6. Thus it appears to me that the fact of the baptism of *households*, taken in connection with previously existing ideas and circumstances, leaves the *probability* on the side of infant baptism. To *me* the probability seems strong, and it is confirmed almost into absolute certainty when connected with the early history of the church immediately after the apostles. Don't

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scout at this. It deserves very particular notice as to *facts*, in every case where it does not contradict the New Testament. The Baptists shew no objection to it themselves when it suits their purpose. Let it be observed the subject of proof is in this instance a *matter* of *fact*. The early prevalence of absurd opinions as to the *nature* of baptism, &c. &c., does not affect the evidence of the *fact* that baptism was, from the earliest times of the Christian era, administered to infants. It is alluded to, and directly spoken of by the earliest writers, never as a thing that was or had been questioned, but uniformly as a matter the existence of which from the beginning was undisputed. It seems to me impossible indeed that *such* a change as this could have "crept in unawares." The fact is, that the early history of the church gives *no* intimation of the origin of the practice of baptizing infants as being subsequent to the time of the Apostles. The way in which Mr. M'Lean gets over the argument from ancient history is by an unfounded *assumption*, a mere *theory*—a very ingenious one no doubt for his purpose, but that does not give it validity. An opinion, according to him, began to prevail about the end of the second century of the *necessity* of baptism to salvation. Parents took the alarm for the safety of their children, and hence arose infant baptism! Now it is true that such an opinion did prevail at that time, but the conclusion drawn from it is a mere gratuitous assumption, an ingenious *ipse dixit*, but unworthy of the man who makes it. For, 1. There are allusions to infant baptism *previous* to this. And 2. If it were my business, which it is not, to assign an origin to the above mentioned opinion, I should certainly trace it to the very practice of infant baptism itself. For this of all other things might most plausibly lead into the idea of the necessity of baptism to salvation. I might dwell on particulars here, but the instances must be familiar to you. Wall's History of Infant Baptism gave my mind complete satisfaction as to the *matter of fact*, so far as it depends on ancient history. I draw my conclusion, as to the evidence from historical facts, from what is said respecting the baptism of households in the New Testament, and respecting salvation coming to a believer's house, connected with the *previous* and *subsequent* history of the church.

When I began to write I meant to have entered at some length into the subject of the Abrahamic covenant. And I shall still do so, if you wish it. J. O.'s letter, however, received this morning, induces me to send you immediately what I have written, being extremely vexed at myself for delaying so long. I entreat you yet, my dear brother, to *reconsider* this part of the subject. Mr. Aikman's principles appear to me scriptural; and if they are, the whole Baptist scheme rests on a foundation of sand. It appears to me capable of full proof that the covenant made with Abraham, which is expressly said to have been "confirmed of God in Christ," is the same with that which now exists; that circumcision was the seal of this covenant; that the fleshly relation to Abraham was included in the expression *thy seed;* when the blessings of this covenant were promised, *spiritual blessings* mean that the temporal blessings were promised on the same ground with the spiritual; that circumcision was of old the seal of this covenant, as baptism is now, &c. Whence I am persuaded that so far from wanting precept and example for infant baptism we have it from the days of Abraham downwards. And this view is the only one that is consistent with many passages, and with the general tenor of the New Testament. I pray you not to be precipitate as to your baptism, if you have already intimated your resignation as a

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member to Mr. A. Let me know immediately if I may prosecute the subject. I am lost in wonder, for the more I think of the question my conviction is increasingly clear.—Believe me, &c. RALPH WARDLAW.

The agitation of the Baptist controversy gave occasion to Mr. Wardlaw's making his first appearance before the public as an author. Engaged in expounding to his congregation the Epistle to the Romans he was led to dwell on what the Apostle says in ch. iv. ver. 9-25, respecting the covenant with Abraham, with a view of showing the connection between that covenant and infant baptism. His exposition of this passage extended through three lectures, and these in an enlarged form he committed to the press and published under the following title, "Three Lectures on Romans iv. 9-25, designed chiefly to illustrate the Nature of the Abrahamic Covenant, and its Connection with Infant Baptism. With an Appendix on the mode of Baptism. By Ralph Wardlaw, Glasgow." This work appeared in the beginning of 1807, and was dedicated by the author to the church of which he was pastor. Of the three lectures which it contains, the first is chiefly devoted to the consideration of the nature and purport of circumcision as a sign and a seal, and especially to the vindication of the opinion that it had respect to the spiritual no less than to the temporal part of the covenant made with Abraham. In the second lecture the author proceeds to argue from the Apostle's language that the promises of the Abrahamic covenant were made to the same seed and on the same footing, not the temporal promises to the natural posterity, and the spiritual to the spiritual seed of Abraham, but both to the latter, though they had also a primary respect to the fleshly seed, implying that among them there should be a seed to serve the Lord. In the third lecture the author applies what he has previously adduced to the subject of infant baptism. Here he contends on the ground of what he has already proved that there is no absurdity in the practice itself of infant baptism—that circumcision and baptism signify or represent substantially the same things, viz., the taking away of sin in its guilt and its pollution by the blood and spirit of

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Christ; and that seeing circumcision, the sign and seal of the covenant of old, was administered by God's command to the children of those who professed the faith of this covenant, and became to them in their turn, when its import was understood and believed, a seal of the righteousness of faith, and seeing no change in the constitution of the covenant, or as to the extent of the application of the sign of the covenant, can be pointed out, but the contrary, it follows that baptism is to be administered to the same class of persons as that to which circumcision was administered, viz., the infant offspring of believers and to adult converts. In an appendix the author discusses the mode of baptism, and argues in favour of affusion or sprinkling.

As respects the argumentation in favour of infant baptism contained in these lectures all remarks may be advantageously deferred until we have occasion to notice the reproduction of it in an expanded and improved form at a later period of the author's life. Suffice it in this place to say that the lectures, viewed simply as expository discourses on a difficult part of Scripture, are worthy of all commendation for the perspicuity and fulness with which they unfold the Apostle's meaning, as well as for the profitableness of the uses to which his statements are applied. In the composition of the book we miss that ease and fluency and grace which characterise the maturer style of the author; but no one can fail to recognise in the more controversial parts a large measure of that dialectic sagacity, acuteness and ingenuity of which in after life he proved himself so eminent a master.

The appearance of this work excited considerable interest, as it was the first, and for a long time the only really vigorous attempt to arrest the tide which had begun to flow among the Scottish Congregationalists in favour of the opinions of the Antipædobaptists. From many quarters the author received congratulations and thanks; and it is a little amusing to observe that some of the warmest of these were from brethren who ere long themselves became Baptists. "I was eagerly expecting them," writes one, "and have perused them with great avidity

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and much pleasure. . . . . I think you have taken a position from which the united strength of the Baptists will not easily dislodge you." In less than three years from the date of the letter containing these words, the writer had himself joined the Baptists, and was busily engaged in writing a book by which he hoped by his own arm to subvert the position which he had thought so impregnable!

From his friend Dr. Stuart, to whom he had sent a copy of the Lectures, Mr. Wardlaw received a most characteristic reply. "Accept," says he, "my best thanks for the present of your Lectures. I have read them with attention, and I hope without prejudice; and I think I could show a good many flaws in the reasoning, although I acknowledge that in general they are plausibly and well written, and with a meek and quiet spirit. I hope they will be carefully examined and answered in print. I rejoice at the publication; I hope it will bring us nearer before that period when distance and darkness shall be no more. If no one publishes, and if I hear of no one publishing, if the Lord will, I will try to lend my attention to it; but I have sent copies to Mr. M'Lean and to Mr. Fuller, and I hope one or other will sit down to a task for which they are better qualified than I am." The good man seems to have thought it a positive pleasure to an author to have his book replied to, and to have felt painfully solicitous lest his friend should lose this satisfaction! Was it a strange pugnacity and love of conflict which dictated these sentiments? By no means; they issued from an earnest conviction that discussion is the proper method of eliciting truth, and that

"Truth, like a torch, the more it's shook it shines,"

and that Christian love and unity among Christians will be best promoted by shaking it well.

What use Mr. Fuller made of the copy that had been sent to him remains unknown; but Mr. M'Lean responded to the appeal of Dr. Stuart, and published towards the end of the year a review of the work in an octavo volume of some size. To this Mr. Wardlaw was deterred from replying, not because

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he thought any of his main positions shaken by the reviewer, but from the consideration of "the time it would necessarily occupy which," he thought, "might on the whole be more profitably employed"*—a judgment of which afterwards he felt inclined to doubt the correctness.

Mr. Wardlaw's interest in such a subject as Infant Baptism could not fail to be quickened by the claims of his now rapidly increasing family. His book had only a few weeks quitted the press when his third child was born, who was a son. This event took place on the 16th of February 1807. Another child, a daughter, was added to his family on the 30th of October in the following year. Whilst thus relating events referring to his domestic life, it may not be amiss to introduce the following letter addressed to his father during the absence of the latter from home on a visit to Edinburgh. The "heraldic" allusions which it contains have reference to the Herald newspaper, of which his brother was at this time the editor, and in the management of which his father took some share.

To His Father.

Glasgow, Friday afternoon.†

My very dear Father—Although I have nothing whatever that is particularly interesting to communicate, yet both duty and affection dictate the propriety of writing you, were it but a single line, to let you know how matters are among those whom you love in this quarter. I write under your own roof, where I try in some respects to occupy your place—to fill it in any respect is far above my thoughts. If ever I should flatter myself with the idea of filling a similar situation for such a length of time, with the same, or anything like the same uniform dignity, undeviating propriety, and universal approbation and love, I should be "thinking of myself much more highly than I ought to think."

My Heraldic Recreations have been attended to with all due punctuality; and the thought that I was working for you has given them a stronger claim to the appellation than they seem to possess in their own nature, rendering them truly pleasant, giving interest even to the wisdom of Dr. Solomon himself. The *boardly, blooming Editor* accepts the labours of your understrapper "always with all thankfulness." I threw over the table to him the first day I was there, to his no small entertainment, your paper of instructions for the guidance of the deputy corrector. He sends you, addressed to Dr. S., a copy of to-day's Herald, to shew you how it prospers in your absence. The number of advertisements you will find more than usually encouraging.

* Preface to Dissertation on Infant Baptism.

† This is the only date on the letter, but the post-mark bears date 17th July 1807.

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I have to-day received an invitation from George Robertson* to preach at Paisley on Tuesday next, being the town fast. Being reluctant to refuse, I have asked *Robert*, and obtained his ready assent to act *for that one day* as sub-sub-corrector, in which I trust I shall have the equally ready concurrence of my lord-superior.

Cowie† left us on Tuesday morning. On the preceding evening he had a nice meeting of *young people* and others in the chapel, and was in fine spirits. I am *very fond of the man*, though not of his manner as a preacher.

Phillips assists me again on Lord's Day afternoon. Jeanie and her little ones went down the way as proposed, on Monday morning. I shall long, of course, for the week after next. Gilbert does not go down till to-morrow morning, being engaged with the *Birkbecks*, half-a-dozen of whom, male and female, are dining in John's to-day. They go to Hamilton to-morrow, their visit, I presume, being one principally for pleasure.

The monthly meeting is in the Tabernacle to-night, and it now wants less than half an hour of the time, so that when I have got my dish of tea it will be time for me to move.

The *Index* to the hymns is now at press. Remember me warmly to Dr. S. and family. Enquire at him about Mr. M'Lean's pamphlet, and tell him I hope to have a few lines from him by you.

Will you write how you do—and what day you mean to be here, that we may receive you with *all the honours*. Warmest love from *all*.—Yours, &c.

RALPH.

The feelings of the family circle of which Mr. Wardlaw senior formed the centre, were at this time called into somewhat

* Pastor of the Congregational Church at Paisley, afterwards of Thurso.

† The Rev. George Cowie, pastor of the Congregational Church, Montrose, a man of no small genius, considerable eccentricity and boundless humour. His style of preaching it would be difficult to describe; it was as changeable as an April day, and ranged from the sublimest eloquence and the most overpowering pathos to the lowest depths of dull and pointless commonplace. His discourses were very unconnected, and were almost entirely extempore. "If a hare starts up in my path, why should I not follow it?" was his plea when defending this feature of his pulpit addresses; and follow it he assuredly did, over rough ground and smooth, solid and swamp, hill and plain, though often when his race was ended, the result by no means was equal to the pains. His spirits were very unequal, and this usually affected his preaching; though frequently a fit of deep depression was the precursor of one of his most brilliant or most pathetic orations. I never knew any preacher whose power of unlocking the fountain of tears in his audience was so great; and when his theme led him in this direction, he obeyed to the letter Horace's counsel—

"Si vis me flere dolendum est
Primum ipsi tibi"—

not as a piece of art, but simply because his own soul was absorbed and melted by his subject. When in a happy mood he used to pass gradually from the tone of a speaker into a measured chant, somewhat like that still practised by the Welsh preachers, and then those who knew him prepared themselves for a treat. In private, his "infinite humour" carried all before it; it mastered himself, and made subject all who were within range of his voice.

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painful exercise by his son John deciding to go into the army. This meant at that time exposing himself to the toils of actual warfare, and to dangers of the most imminent kind in that fierce conflict in which the nation was then engaged. His mind, however, was bent on entering this profession, and accordingly a commission was procured for him in the 52d regiment. Referring to this in a letter to his father, of the date March 26th, 1808, Mr. Wardlaw says, "I cannot but earnestly wish that his application [for the commission] may be successful; for however painful in many respects the prospect of such a line of life may be, yet it really appears, from the state of John's inclinations, to be the only situation in which he is likely to act with credit or with profit. I pray God to open up in his providence for all my dear brothers such sources of employment as shall render them comfortable as to a present world; and that they may be all partakers of a treasure in the heavens that faileth not, and that the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, may keep my dearest father's heart and mind by Christ Jesus."

From the domestic circle the transition is not great to that of literary association and the fellowship of kindred minds bent on the acquisition and communication of knowledge. Glasgow, though eminently a commercial and manufacturing city, has at all times felt and owned the influence of her University, in diffusing a taste for the more refined pursuits of literature and science among the upper and middle classes of her population; and at a period when the manufacturing towns of England were characterised by the rudeness and illiteracy of even their wealthiest inhabitants, there might be found in Glasgow not a few to whom even the higher walks of intellectual pursuits were familiar. In such a community, associations for literary purposes naturally spring up; and of those of which Glasgow was the seat at the commencement of Mr. Wardlaw's public career, none occupied so famous a place as that designated "The Glasgow Literary and Commercial Society." This society was originally organized in 1745 by some of the Professors in the University, and its meetings were first held within the walls of the College. It then

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bore only the designation of "Literary;" but towards the close of the century, having been reconstructed on a more enlarged basis which admitted of men engaged in business becoming members, it took the more extended designation above given. The society after this met in a hall hired for the purpose, but their meetings continued to be regulated by the University sessions, beginning in November and terminating with April. Within this society almost all the higher intelligence of Glasgow was to be found; and before it have, in the first instance, been laid nearly all the important speculations and discoveries which since its origination have proceeded from men resident in or near that city. Amongst its earlier members, the names of Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith and Joseph Black are to be found; and it is more than probable that those profound and original speculations which have shed such lustre on these names, and have contributed so materially to advance philosophical knowledge and to create the modern sciences of political economy and chemistry, were first submitted to the criticism of the members of this society. Here also James Watt first unfolded the results of his experiments and inquiries concerning steam—that mighty agent which has, through means which he was the first to devise, been brought so wonderfully under human control, and has produced such a marvellous change in almost every department of human activity. Among the later celebrities of Glasgow, literary, scientific and political, hardly one is to be found whose name does not appear on the roll of its members. In literature and philosophy it can boast of Richardson, Young, Jardine, Milne, Campbell, Chalmers, Motherwell, Atkinson, and Sheridan Knowles; and of men eminent as merchants, politicians or men of science, it can point to the names of Kirkman Finlay, Colin Dunlop, James Ewing, James Oswald, Dr. Cleland and Dr. Robert Watt, as, amongst others, men of whose association any society might be proud.*

* Some zealous citizens of the western metropolis have boasted that the name of Edmund Burke is to be added to the honourable list of members of this society. This could hardly be. Burke was never resident in Glasgow; and the story of his having been once a candidate for the Chair of Logic there is probably a pure fable.

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Of this society Mr. Wardlaw became a member some time in 1805 or 1806. He soon came to take an active part in its affairs, and, eminently fitted as he was to excel in such a sphere, he was not long of becoming one of its main supports. On the 12th of March 1807 he read a paper on "The propriety of giving a more Liberal Education to the Female Sex." In the beginning of the following year he read a paper on "Revenge;" and in 1809 he read two papers, one on the 12th January, entitled "Some Observations on the Nature and Effects of Party Spirit," and the other a fortnight later, on the 26th, entitled "Observations on the Law of Divorce." At the close of the session of 1808-9 Mr. Wardlaw was unanimously appointed to the office of secretary to the society, on the retirement of Mr. J. Bell, who had before held that office. The duties of this post he discharged for the next six sessions with unabated zeal and interest. His minutes begin with the meeting of November 23, 1809, and close with that of April 1815, and extend through 73 pages of small but beautiful writing.

In 1807 he contributed to the Missionary Magazine papers on the following subjects:—In the numbers for March and July, "Remarks on Romans v. 12, respecting Original Guilt, and the Nature and Extent of the Curse connected with it," being a continuation and completion of a paper contributed to the volume for the previous year; in the number for August a brief defence of Systems in Theology, in reply to a certain A. B. who had in a previous number been allowed to indite a good deal of pious nonsense on this head; and in the number for September a paper on Romans xii. 16, on "Being Wise in our own Conceits." To the volume for 1808 his contributions were numerous. They were as follows:—"Thoughts on 1 Cor. vii. 29-31," February and March; "On Meekness," May and June; "Notes on Romans iv. 1-8," in reply to some strictures by J. M.,* July and August; "On the necessity of Love in the Christian Character,"

* The late Rev. John Munro of Knockando, a man of great shrewdness and force of mind, as well as of apostolic piety and zeal.

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October; and "On the Properties of Christian Love, No. I.," December.

This chapter may be fitly concluded by the following letter:—

To the Rev. H. F. Burder.

Glasgow, August 8th, 1806.

My dear Friend—The cordial affection which your last letter breathed certainly merited very different treatment than allowing an interval of two months to pass before it has received a reply. And now lest long apologies and other matters should leave me no room for complying with the request alluded to, I shall if you please attend to it *imprimis*. I cannot in the bounds of a letter enter at any length into the various matters more or less remotely connected with the subject of the duty of weekly communion in the Lord's Supper. I shall only, and that as briefly as possible, leaving your sagacity to fill up and follow out the argument, mention what occurs to my memory as the substance of what I stated in Mr. Buchan's on the night you refer to. The strength of my argument depends much on connecting the *nature of the thing itself* with the *hints* we have as to what was the *matter of fact* in primitive churches. If it can be made to appear that it is *natural to suppose it should be so*, then there arises, from the nature of the thing, a *likelihood* that it *was so;* and this *previous probability* founded thus in the nature of the thing gives additional weight to any hints as to the matter of fact, which otherwise perhaps might not appear so conclusive. We do not require the same clear and forcible assertions in support of that which is in *its own nature probable*, which we need to confirm what is in itself very *unlikely*. This I think you admitted, and indeed it is abundantly obvious. Now there is nothing that to my mind seems in itself more natural than that Christians assembling on the first day of the week should statedly observe this ordinance. Because, 1st, The death and resurrection of Jesus form *together* the ground of our hope towards God; the latter as the glorious proof of the full efficacy of the former, and the blessed pledge of our enjoying its eternal benefits. How natural then does it seem, that on the day on which our Lord rose from the dead, we should join with the remembrance of his resurrection the commemoration of his death. *You* will not, I am sure, fritter away this observation by the observation which some have made upon it, that it proves the propriety of our observing the ordinance at all our meetings on that day. This seems to me trifling, for though, from motives of obvious convenience we assemble on that day more than once, yet the grand purpose of the day itself is *one*. 2dly, The Lord's Supper is "the *communion* of the body and blood of Christ," 1 Cor. x. 16. Now if Christians assemble on the "Lord's Day" for the purposes of holding *fellowship* with one another *in him*, does it not seem natural that they should not omit an ordinance in which the glorious bond of their union is so impressively and interestingly exhibited? and the frequently renewed exhibition of which in this social observance is so eminently calculated to "knit their hearts together in love." 3dly, We "do this *in remembrance of him*." I have sometimes in this view of the ordinance mused on the circumstance as a "marvellous thing," that a lover of Jesus should be found objecting to the practice I am pleading for. I think somehow that such a one, feeling aright, should wish to find nothing against it; that he should rejoice to find a simple permission or even the

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absence of a positive prohibition, that he might enjoy this privilege as often as possible—the frequent refreshing of his memory by the lively emblematic exhibition of the broken body and shed blood of that dear Redeemer whom he feels himself so sadly prone to forget, and on his constant remembrance of whom depends the steadiness of his hope, and comfort, and joy, and progress in the divine life. I esteem for my own part weekly communion as a privilege, and should feel inclined to be satisfied if it were only *not forbidden*. 4thly, I can divine no reason for having this ordinance one Lord's Day at any given distance of time, and *not* on those days which intervene. What good reason can be assigned for observing it on the first Sabbath of the month that does not apply to the other three? Every returning Sabbath brings the same blessed events to our remembrance; and what suits one equally suits all. If you say (and I know of nothing else that can be said) that "frequency begets contempt," I answer you are inconsistent in confining this remark to *one* institution or observance, which, if it has force as to *any*, has force as to *every* religious exercise; and likewise in not allowing others to carry out the principle to a greater degree. Our good Scotch Presbyterians argue (and in my judgment the force of the argument increases in exact proportion with the length of the interval) on this very ground for annual and half-yearly communion. You think you have hit the proper medium; but others think two, and others three, and others four months a more natural medium. All this is the power of custom. The proper medium between frequency and infrequency, no man can possibly calculate for others. I shall thank you, my very dear friend, for a reason why you sat down in the Tabernacle here on some Lord's Days, and *not* on others? If you give me a *good* one, I confess I shall be surprised.

Having made these few previous remarks, I shall now proceed to explain the light in which the passages of Scripture usually quoted in proof of the state of the fact in primitive times appear to my mind—omitting to notice at all such as, being in my apprehension irrelevant, have tended rather, as very often happens, to weaken than to establish the cause they have been adduced to support.

1. From Acts ii. 42, I do not *directly* infer the practice of weekly communion; for I have not yet been satisfied that the historian, in the four articles there mentioned, and the *praise of God* afterwards noticed, v. 47, designed to enumerate for our imitation the *five* stated observances of the church at Jerusalem when they met on the first day of the week. I think the contrary capable of being proved, although even the acute *M'Lean* and others are against me. *This* much, however, I think is fairly inferred from the passage, that the "Breaking of bread," which, in this connection, I suppose you will allow me to consider as meaning the Lord's Supper, was a *frequent*, an ordinary exercise, in which, immediately after their conversion, they manifested their separation from the world, and declared their faith in the crucified Jesus. It is surely mentioned by the historian as a feature in their character which it took no length of time to discover, that they "continued stedfastly" in this exercise. But if it had not been a frequent, a usual thing, this could not have been *immediately* apparent. All I infer from this passage, then, is that the "Breaking of bread" was *certainly* a *frequent* exercise, and *probably* from the connection in which it is mentioned, a *stated* part of their *ordinary* social worship as a church. Connect this with the *previous probability* formerly mentioned.

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2. Acts xx. 7. This passage, I think, you could not see to be at all conclusive. I hope you will bear it in mind as a necessary principle in the interpretation of Scripture that the question is not, "What meaning *may* this passage bear?" but "What is its fairest and most *natural* import?" Now, although it would perhaps be too much to say that the inference which I draw from the expression here used is an absolutely necessary and unquestionable one, yet it seems to me to be simple and natural; and this is to my mind quite enough to found my conviction and my practice. Read the passage, *omitting* the words *to break bread*—"On the first day of the week, when the disciples came together, Paul preached to them." Don't you think, now, it would be very natural to infer from such an expression that they were accustomed to meet on the first day of the week? It is upon this and similar expressions that the argument for the observance of that day is commonly founded. Well, what would you think of the reasoning of a man who should say, "Oh! it does not at all follow that to meet on the first day of the week was their constant practice. No more can be inferred from such an expression than that Paul happened to be there when their *meeting-day* occurred."—Such reasoning would not satisfy your mind, but only prove him who should use it *disinclined*, for some reason or other, to make a different inference. But if the passage without the omitted clause would afford an argument of any force at all in favour of its being the usual practice to assemble on the first day of the week, it furnishes one, when the clause is retained, precisely of the same weight, in behalf of their assembling on that day *for the purpose stated*. The connection of the passage seems likewise to prove that it was *not* the practice of the church at Troas to observe this ordinance on other days of the week. For Paul, as has often been observed, waited from *Monday* preceding; compare verses 6 and 7. And this he did, at least *probably*, to enjoy the fellowship of the church on the Lord's day, and strengthen the souls of the disciples. Carry this last remark forward to the next argument.

3. 1 Cor. xi. 18, &c. The argument from this passage may be stated very briefly. The church at Corinth are blamed because they *came together* not for the better but for the worse. The reason assigned for this is the abuse that prevailed in the observance of the Lord's Supper, arising from the divisions that crept in amongst them—verses 20-22. Now I suppose I shall be allowed to take it for granted that they were in the custom of *assembling statedly* on the first day of the week, and that by *divine appointment*. Yet the Apostle says of their *coming together, without limitation or distinction*, that it was *for the worse*, assigning for it the above cause. You have not quite forgot, I suppose, your "*Barbara celarent*." Take the argument, then, in this form:—"The church at Corinth assembled by divine authority every first day of the week. But they are blamed because they came together for the worse, owing to the corruptions in the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. Therefore, they were accustomed to observe this ordinance statedly when they came together on that day." I see no way of getting rid of this argument; for even the reply which I once got to it from Mr. Fuller, viz., That it proves *too much*; "because," said he, "it proves that at all their meetings, on other days as well as the Lord's Day, even *whensoever* they came together, they observed the Lord's Supper"—I say even this, were it granted, would not, it is manifest, exculpate those who have it *seldomer* than every Lord's Day, but only give a share of blame to such as have it not *still oftener*. But

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the truth is, we have no accounts given us of such *week-day* meetings of the churches, or of what was done at them. We are bound only by what they do on the footing of divine prescription. Such was their observance of the Lord's Day. As to other meetings which might be held, none are spoken of as stated or enjoined. We may hold such meetings or not as suits our convenience. But the observance of the Lord's Day is admitted to be of divine appointment, and we are surely safest, and acting most for edification, when we are observing it, as far as we can, according to the practice of the apostolic churches.

Such is the outline of the reasons which weigh most strongly in my mind in favour of the weekly observance of the Lord's Supper. Little as you may think is said directly on the subject in the New Testament, that little, you should consider, is *all on one side*. I have uniformly observed that the arguments employed by those who do not see weekly communion to be a duty, are all of the *negative, indirect* kind; rather in the way of apology and defence than of positive proof—bearing the form, not of evidence on the one side, but of *objection* to the validity of evidence on the other. There is hardly any consideration *directly* brought to support the propriety of less frequent observance of this ordinance, except the general principle that "frequency produces indifference." And I cannot but think that if you will allow your mind to weigh this with candour in all its bearings, you will perceive it at once to be hollow ground.

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CHAPTER V.

A. D. 1808—A. D. 1812.

THE serene and profitable pursuits in which at the close of the preceding chapter Mr. Wardlaw appears engaged were not the only matters which at this time engrossed his mind. Others of a very different nature forced themselves upon his attention, and both occupied his time and vexed his spirit.

For several years the Congregational churches had gone on in peace and unity, devoted to the work of extending the gospel both in their own country and in foreign lands, and sedulous for the purity, the vitality and the growth of their own fellowship. This happy state of things, however, was brought to an end by intestine quarrels which arose about matters of comparatively trifling moment, but were unhappily prosecuted with an acerbity which rent the denomination and threatened for a while its very existence. The first bone of contention that was thrown into the churches respected the pastor's or elder's office in a church of Christ, and in this dispute views were maintained which went entirely to supersede the pastoral office, and to introduce a wild and licentious anarchy in the place of that rule and order which Christ has appointed to be observed. A spirit of this sort once let loose in a community knows not where to stop; and accordingly in a short time everything became matter of discussion, and a restless cupidity of novelty raged in the bosoms of many of the most influential members of the Congregational churches, and infected even some of the pastors. In the Tabernacle Church at Edinburgh this state of things rose to its height in consequence of Mr. Robert Haldane and his brother having

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adopted many of the new opinions as well as having become Baptists. A disruption of this church was the consequence; many of its members returned to the Church of Scotland;* some joined Mr. Aikman's church, which was for the most part opposed to the new views; and a considerable body formed themselves into a new church and met for worship in a public hall denominated Bernard's Rooms. The denomination had thus unavoidably been split into two, for it became necessary for the other churches to determine with which of the churches in Edinburgh they would continue to hold fellowship.

Mr. Wardlaw was from the first opposed to the new notions, and allied himself with Mr. Ewing and Mr. Aikman in offering an uncompromising resistance to their progress in the churches. In the spring of 1808 when the discussions in the Tabernacle were at their crisis he happened to be in Edinburgh, and he thus describes the state of things in a letter to his father dated 26th March of that year:—"Matters here are now come to their crisis. There was a second meeting last night at the Tabernacle, which Mr. R. Haldane opened, after the ordinary worship, with a speech of an hour and three quarters in length!! delivered with the utmost deliberation. He was interrupted towards the close by the pertinent question, whether the whole meeting was to be occupied with his charges, &c., without any opportunity being given for vindication and reply. One of the brethren (Glover) spoke in answer to him three quarters of an hour. Several others said a little; and a number more could not get their sentiments delivered but simply declared themselves off. Mr. Aikman and I though absent came in for our share of the criminating charges. We dine with him to-day and shall probably have some of the matters overhauled. We had a long conversation with him on Thursday. Bernard's

* Among these was one individual who, in his early zeal for the Tabernacle, had indulged freely in strictures of a very bitter kind on the Established Church. On his return to that communion he joined the congregation of the late Dr. Davidson, who is reported thus to have addressed him on becoming aware of his intention:—"Well, Mr. —— I am glad to see you back again; but let me tell you the Church of Scotland is not one whit better than when you left her."

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Rooms are to be opened to-morrow in the midst of accusations of hurry and precipitation, which seem to me as destitute of foundation as ever charges were in this world. . . . I feel it truly comfortable in the midst of all accusations to have my mind *perfectly satisfied* with regard to the path of duty to give my countenance to the brethren who desire to separate in peace upon just and scriptural grounds, after mature deliberation, and on clear and full conviction. This subject was before Mr. Aikman's church last night, when I had an opportunity of speaking my mind. The church although not in every respect of one mind, agreed that their pastor should be at full liberty to follow the dictates of his conscience in countenancing the separating brethren; while the question respecting their future connection *as a church* with that which may continue under the pastoral care of Mr. Haldane was delayed as the subject of private deliberation, and of future public consideration. I hope and trust that all shall in due time be well."

The hope so earnestly expressed in this concluding sentence was doubtless fulfilled, but not until it had been "long deferred." The "due time" did not arrive until a period of conflict and confusion had passed, during which all former relations were imperilled, and many friendships were severed, never again to be reunited in this world. Into the history of these troublous times it is no part of my present business to enter; I am concerned with the subject at all only as the discussions and dissensions of the time affected the subject of this memoir, and the church of which he was pastor. And here happily little needs be said; for the leaven of the new views was not suffered to work to any extent in that church. The prudent and conciliatory temper of the pastor, combined with his clear, cogent and convincing expositions of the statements of Scripture bearing on the points under discussion, succeeded in composing to a great extent the differences that had arisen upon them among the members; so that after a little while these questions ceased to be agitated among them, and only a very small secession from their ranks took place. There was another matter, however, which

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arose at this time, and from becoming somehow complicated with these discussions, gave much more trouble to Mr. Wardlaw and his church than these in themselves occasioned. This arose out of the relations between the church in Albion Street, and that under the pastoral care of Mr. Ewing. It would appear that some discontented members of the latter church had found admission into the former, without due consideration of the results of such a step on the part of Mr. Wardlaw and his friends; and whilst this had on the one hand given umbrage to the church they had left, it had on the other introduced into the church they had joined, an element of positive hostility to its sister church. The consequences of this state of things became after a season apparent in the increasing alienation of the two churches, manifested especially by the diminished attendance at the meetings they had been wont to hold for united services. The discussions which had arisen on points of order and usage tended rather to exacerbate than to divert or soothe these unkindly feelings, and the part Mr. Ewing took in these discussions, as well as his unhappy collision with Mr. Robert Haldane, gave occasion for the party opposed to him in Albion Street Church to make still more direct and vigorous attempts to sever that church from fellowship with the one under his pastoral care. To such a step Mr. Wardlaw was determinedly opposed. Between him and Mr. Ewing there had ever existed the most fraternal esteem, and satisfied that there was no just ground for any suspension of the cordial harmony which had hitherto subsisted between the two churches, he set himself to discover and to eliminate the mischievous influence which was at work in his own church in the direction of such a result. For this purpose a committee was appointed, before which all who thought the two churches should no longer remain in fellowship were to state, verbally or in writing, their reasons for such a proposal. The result proved that the whole was the work of a faction. The reasons stated were, with hardly an exception, the same by all, and so nearly in the same words, as to prove that the majority were simply repeating a lesson which they had been taught

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by their leaders to utter. For the most part their reasons were utterly frivolous and unfounded; and some, ludicrously enough, were of such a kind as made them applicable quite as much to Albion Street Church as to that from which Albion Street Church was asked to withdraw as disorderly; as, for instance, there being only one pastor, and that pastor one who had collected the church instead of being chosen by the church after it had been collected! Amidst much, however, which indicated nothing but ignorance, weakness and bad temper, there was one point mooted of a constitutional nature on which it was desirable that a clear and well-considered determination should be reached. This respected the bearing of the independency of the churches on their communion and fellowship with each other. By the recusant party it was argued, that as the two churches were independent of each other, it was not expedient that either should be in any way affected by what was done in the other, as respected the admitting or excluding of members, but that both should act in this matter as they saw fit. The drift of this was to justify the church in Albion Street in receiving as members persons who had either been cut off from Mr. Ewing's church, or had left it in displeasure, without paying any regard to that church in the matter. In the ground thus assumed there was involved a question of general interest affecting the mutual relations of all sister churches, and it became of importance to show how it was to be settled on the independent platform of church polity. Accordingly passing over with slight notice, as they deserved, the mere cavils and backbiting which constituted the majority of the charges alleged against the church under Mr. Ewing, Mr. Wardlaw addressed himself chiefly to the settlement of this the main question in debate. He read several papers on the subject to the church, but the substance of the views he propounded are contained in the following paper, which was the last he drew up on this occasion. After some general observations on the beauty and importance of Christian unity, and some animadversions on the

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painful circumstances in which the two churches in Glasgow were placed, he proceeds thus:—

Surely, my dear Brethren, these things ought not so to be. I can hardly look for comfort and prosperity, but for displeasure and rebuke from the Lord while matters continue thus.

I feel myself therefore constrained to bring matters to some crisis, by stating once more the principles upon this subject, according to which alone I can conscientiously discharge the duties of the pastoral office among you. For, grievous to my spirit as the possible effect of this may be, I freely acknowledge it is not so afflicting to me as our present unhappy state. Let me then entreat your serious and patient attention to the following remarks: That the churches of Christ in Apostolic times, though all separate communities, independent of one another in government and discipline, yet felt themselves, *as churches*, united in the bonds of truth and love, and had full mutual confidence in one another, must, I think, be manifest to every reader of the New Testament, as appearing on the very face of the history.

1. They send mutual brotherly salutations to one another as churches—and that in the letters of the Apostles—Rom. xvi. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; 2 Cor. xiii. 13; Heb. xiii. 24; 1 Pet. v. 13. 2. When a member of any church in one place went to another, he was recommended by the brethren whom he left to those in the place where he was going; and in this recommendation we have no reason to doubt the fullest confidence was placed. "They received him in the Lord as becometh saints." Acts xviii. 27; 2 Cor. viii. 23; 3 John 9, 10. Those churches are now, in regard to their connection, in the same state with those in primitive times, which from their mutual agreement call themselves sister churches. Between such similar confidence ought to exist. Nor is this inconsistent with the idea of the proper and full independence of the churches. They are not certainly *bound* as to their own discipline and procedure by the decisions of others. Yet if churches are to have fellowship with one another at all, it must be on the ground of such mutual confidence as has been described. Without it there may be the outward appearance of connection, but there can be no union on the principles of "love without dissimulation."

From these few remarks I deduce the following *practical inferences*:—

1. It is proper and regular, and for edification, that when members leave one church to go to another, they should be recommended *by the church* which they leave to the church they mean to join.

2. Every church ought to be cautious of receiving any *without* such recommendation. Because in doing so they may admit unawares such as the other church disapproves—who come away either from under censure, or seeing it before them in order to avoid it—or who are actuated by various trifling, unreasonable, capricious, or, in some respect or other, improper motives. When we receive individuals who leave another church from dissatisfaction, we directly disown the church, and take the opinion of an individual against her procedure. Withdrawing from a church should be viewed as a very serious step, and no encouragement ought to be held out to it by making one church the easy receptacle for the dissatisfied of another.

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3. One church ought to receive such as come with a recommendation from another, *unless they know something against them themselves, on the ground of which they question their character.* To receive any when this is the case, would be sacrificing substance to form, acting in opposition to the very end for which the recommendation is given and required.

Where this is *not* the case, however, we ought to receive such as are so recommended; while at the same time, as every church is liable to be deceived, there can be no impropriety, but the contrary, in the pastor's embracing the opportunity of conversation with them.

The idea which some of our brethren have maintained, that applicants should uniformly be received on the general broad footing of Christian character, without inquiry as to their former connections, with the reasons and the manner of their withdrawing, seems to me to be ground so completely untenable, and so manifestly fraught with mischief, that I cannot bring myself to believe that those who brought it forward had given it due consideration. It leads so directly to the encouragement of every conceivable motive, however improper, by which persons may be prompted to leave their church connection—to the encouragement therefore, in many instances, of the most unchristian tempers and unscriptural conduct, that of a church holding such a principle I certainly could not in conscience be either pastor or member.

The churches of Jesus are represented as having in discipline "the power of our Lord Christ." It is certainly then at least a very serious matter to treat with lightness their decisions and sentences.

I have yet seen no reason to draw back from the principle which I have more than once stated as that which is, in my mind, the only proper boundary of that confidence which the churches of Christ ought to repose in one another. "That a church of Christ should uniformly be held in the right, in every case in which a process of investigation would be necessary to discover that they are in the wrong."

I am perfectly satisfied that unless we have confidence in one another *as churches* to this extent, we had much better have no confidence and no intercourse at all.

To lay down the general principle of receiving and investigating the applications of those who are *excluded* or who are *dissatisfied*, is directly to say, "We have no such confidence—and we reckon it as likely that the church should be in the wrong as the individuals who dissent from her decisions." It appears to me to be neither in human nature nor in grace, that any two churches should have cordial fellowship, when such are the views and such the practice of either the one or the other. It is an impossibility. If one church acts thus towards another, the other must either be compelled to withdraw, or, what is still worse, there must be produced *a hypocritical appearance of union.*

I formerly stated what I conceived to be the further evil effects of adopting and acting on the principle I have just adverted to: As to *others* and as to *ourselves.*

As to other churches towards whom we should act thus, it has a manifest tendency to weaken their hands, and to deprive their discipline of its vigour and effect. The very laying down of the principle, if I may judge from my own feelings, has this effect.

If another church were to adopt and act on this principle towards us,

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receiving the applications of excluded and dissatisfied members and investigating their claims, I should certainly feel palsied and discouraged by the declaration, as I should conceive this to be, of want of confidence in us as a church. Besides, the very possibility of finding a different verdict and a safe asylum elsewhere, must necessarily have the effect of lessening the fear of discipline in the minds of offenders, and leading them to disregard and set it at nought. My dear brethren, I fear we have not in some parts of our conduct acted towards our Tabernacle brethren according to the strict requirement of the rule—"Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

As to the effects upon our own state of adopting such a principle, I need not dwell upon them. Our situation affords a small specimen of what we might expect to be often recurring. It tends to invite the offending and dissatisfied, and to expose us to incessant, or at least very frequent perplexity and trouble of the most painful and irksome kind.

Besides, as I have formerly remarked, it seems in the nature of the case an *impossibility* that we should act on such a principle. We cannot, surely, without being very unreasonable, expect that the other church are cheerfully to come forward on all such occasions as parties in the investigation of their own discipline. It is absurd to suppose it. Yet without their doing so we must ever be at a stand. For without them we can form no impartial judgment. Every church, indeed, should be ready to give satisfaction to another, in particular cases, and will do so when there is mutual confidence displayed. But we can hardly expect such readiness when by one of the churches a principle is laid down and acted upon, that declares the want of such confidence. This must ever be repulsive, calculated to shut the heart, and produce coldness and distance. For jealousy on one side naturally begets caution and reserve and return of jealousy on the other.

I have thus, beloved brethren, shortly stated to you once more the principles on which alone I apprehend it is possible for two churches to walk in fellowship.

I conclude by saying, that I cannot see any good end to be gained by further public discussion of this matter. It has been often before us; and I imagine all has been said that can well be advanced on the subject. My purpose in bringing forward my own views again is simply that you may know the only principles on which I can conscientiously hold the pastoral office. My mind and conscience are decided on the subject. I have been earnestly desirous of agreement. For this I have waited—for this I have prayed.

It is still my most earnest desire that all my dear brethren might see it their duty to acquiesce in the views which have been now stated. But if they cannot cordially and conscientiously fall in with them, as they are principles not merely speculative, but of constant practical application, it does not appear to me that they admit of any compromise, or that while there is a decided difference respecting them, there can be much comfort or advantage, because cordial unanimity is wanting in our proceedings.

The principles laid down in this paper are those on which the Independent churches have continued to act, and they are the

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only principles on which harmony and intercommunion can possibly be maintained for any length of time. The clear, calm, and firm enunciation of them by Mr. Wardlaw had the desired effect. A few persons of extreme views or insubordinate spirit withdrew; but the church returned to the enjoyment of internal concord, and full harmony was again restored between it and the sister church. Of this last a pleasing evidence was soon afforded, for Mr. Ewing and his church having felt themselves constrained to leave their place of worship in consequence of the unhappy differences which had arisen between Mr. Ewing and Mr. Robert Haldane whose property the building was, they were not only met with fraternal sympathy by Mr. Wardlaw and his people, but the use of Albion Street Chapel was granted to them for the purpose of holding their meetings in during the week, until arrangements could be made for their more permanent accommodation.* This, though only what it became one church to do for another under the circumstances, was such an act of fraternal charity as would hardly have been rendered had not all bitterness, jealousy and distrust between the two societies been at an end.

In 1809 Mr. Wardlaw contributed to the Missionary Magazine four articles in continuation of the series he had commenced the preceding year on the *Properties of Christian Love.* Two additional papers under the same title appeared in the following year, and the whole form an admirable though incomplete comment on the beautiful language of the Apostle in 1st Cor. xiii. 4, 5. They evidently form the substance of what the author had previously delivered in the form of discourses to his flock. In the volume for 1809 there is also a short paper by him on 2 Cor. iv. 10-12, and some verses entitled *A Prayer for Britain,* called forth evidently by patriotic and pious feeling in the prospect of the threatened invasion of this country by Napoleon Bonaparte. These verses may not be without their interest at present, and they are sufficiently vigorous to be worthy of a place in their author's memoirs.

* See Mrs. Matheson's Life of Mr. Ewing, p. 350.

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A Prayer for Britain.

Father of life, and mighty Lord of all,
Before thy throne of grace and truth we fall :—
Thou first and last, the author and the end
Of all existence, to our prayer attend.

Darkness is thine, and thine the cheerful light,
And all that blesses,—all that pains the sight :
Thine the dry land, and thine the restless wave :
The power to ruin, and the power to save.
Quick, at thy frown, war's fiery tempest blows ;
Thy fav'ring smile the calm of peace bestows :—
Disease and famine waste at thy command,
Or health and plenty bless the happy land.
Source of our joys, and refuge of our cares,
Hear, for our country's cause, our humble pray'rs !
While, lowly bending, suppliant at thy throne,
We plead the name and merits of thy Son ;
Hear, for his sake, as oft in former days,
And change the voice of prayer, to songs of praise.

O'er Britain spread thy broad protecting hand,
To shield from harm the highly-favour'd land.
Let not our crimes provoke thy dreadful frown,
And draw from heaven deserved vengeance down !
O spare our eyes the soul-distracting sight,
Of sons and brothers girding for the fight ;
Our ears the sound,—as yet but heard from far,
The trumpet's blast, the dire alarm of war.
To Britain's arms though high renown were brought,
Ah ! 'twere a glory, dearly, dearly bought !
And triumph's voice, in shouts through Britain borne,
Will mix with sighs from many a heart forlorn.
Gray hairs will sink with sorrow to the grave,
And phrenzied love lament the fallen brave ;
Surviving kindred seek their kindred slain,
Even by the sight of death to soothe their pain,
Roam on the beach that bounds the gory flood,
And wash with tears the "garment roll'd in blood !"

Yet should the hosts of our insatiate foe
At Britain's freedom aim the threatened blow,—
Let valour's fire each British bosom warm,
Light every eye, and nerve each patriot arm !
To Britain's sword the wish'd success command
And look propitious on our native land.
On man's frail arm we dare not trust success ;
We use the means ;—it rests with Thee to bless.
While dire convulsion shakes the nations round,
And tott'ring kingdoms tumble to the ground ;

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O'er Britain, circled by the billows deep,
Ne'er may the storm of revolution sweep:
But heaven-born peace her angel wings expand,
And shake the dew of blessing o'er the land!
From civil discord's woes our country save;
And swell the sail of commerce on the wave;
And on our soil, O shed a blessing down,
Our hills and plains till Autumn's bounty crown.

And while thy judgments frown with aspect stern,
May men thy truth and holy justice learn.
O may the gospel's living power increase
The sacred empire of the Prince of peace!
O that the holy God were more rever'd,
His favours valued, and his judgments fear'd!
From true religion rises true renown,
But vice to ruin sinks an empire down.

The book of life, the record kept on high,
Bears many a name, in Britain yet to die;
A holy priesthood, an elected race,
By blood redeem'd, and call'd by sov'reign grace,
Whose hearts congenial love the Saviour's name,
Whose joyful lips delight to sound his fame:—
THOU who of Sodom said'st, with matchless grace,
"Even for the sake of TEN I'll spare the place,"
For guilty Britain let thine arm awake;
O spare our country for TEN THOUSAND'S sake!

And O, from Britain may the holy light
Of truth divine, far-beaming bless the sight
Of distant millions, wrapt in error's gloom,
And sinking hourly to a hopeless tomb!
May that bright SUN which first arose sublime,
And pour'd his radiance in the Eastern clime,—
Melting the clouds that shroud in dreary night
Lands once saluted by his earliest light,
From Western skies give back the hallow'd ray,
And cheer the East with truth's returning day!
With precious "healing in his" golden "wings,"
That moral health from sin's corruption brings,
Round the whole earth pursue his course benign,
Through shades of death with pure effulgence shine;
And, all-triumphant o'er the reign of night,
The globe envelope with a sphere of light!

Mr. Wardlaw had some time before this completed his expository lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, and at the earnest request of many, especially the students from England who had

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heard them, he set himself to prepare them for the press. In the summer of 1809 he reported to his friend Burder that he had "made a beginning" in this undertaking; a report which called forth from his correspondent the following friendly exhortation:—"I am delighted to find you have made a beginning on your Lectures on the Romans. Go on, I beseech you, with all the speed and diligence you can command. I shall value them very highly indeed, and shall do everything I can to promote their circulation when published." Beyond "a beginning," however, the work did not advance till many years afterwards. The design, indeed, was never relinquished by the author, but it was only towards the close of his life that he was able to set about seriously endeavouring to carry it out, and at his death only a portion of the work had been completed.

In 1810 Mr. Wardlaw appeared twice before the public as an author; first in an "Essay on Mr. Joseph Lancaster's Improvements in Education; including an Abridged View of his Plan of Teaching; with a few remarks on some of its Peculiar Advantages," being a paper the substance of which had been read by him before the Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow on the 8th of February; and next in a sermon on "Christian Mercy," from the text Matt. v. 7, which had been preached at the request of the Glasgow Female Society on the evening of Thursday, March 1. The former of these publications is chiefly devoted to an exposition of Lancaster's methods of teaching, with a defence of them from the objections which had been urged against them. The essay contains nothing that is peculiarly striking, or that in the present day would be considered of special importance; but at the time it appeared the sentiments it advances in favour of the education of the people, and respecting the best modes of training the youthful intellect, were by no means common even amongst men of liberal and enlightened minds. In the same year in which it was published appeared Mr. Hall's Sermon on "The Advantages of Knowledge to the Lower Classes." As compared with that production Mr. Wardlaw's Essay must be pro-

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nounced inferior in point of stately grace and eloquent declamation; but in sentiment the two very closely accord, and it is remarkable that in substance their pleadings for popular education are identical. As Mr. Wardlaw's Essay appeared *before* Mr. Hall's Sermon, the claims of the former as an advocate of the general education of all classes of the people, at a time when such an idea was far from enjoying general favour, can suffer no detraction on account of this coincidence.

In the *Sermon on Mercy* the author considers, I. The general nature of mercy; II. Its objects; and, III. The consideration by which in the text the cultivation and exercise of it are enforced. The discourse is marked throughout by discriminating statement and sound scriptural illustration; but the style is somewhat formal and cold though scrupulously correct. It certainly falls short in power, richness and eloquence of its author's later productions.

In April 1810, another daughter was added to Mr. Wardlaw's family. "How rich you are becoming," writes his friend Burder on the occasion. Yes; as those usually get rich who are "immersed in clerical cares, of which," as a brilliant writer of the present day has said, "a well-filled nursery and an ill-filled purse seem inevitable parts."

The troublous times which had assailed the infant Congregational churches of Scotland were now beginning to pass; the thunder had ceased to roll, and the clouds were clearing away from the sky; and those who had been obliged to keep close to their watch-tower lest evil should befall their flocks, had now opportunity to look a little around them and do something for the good of others. The offspring of missionary zeal and evangelistic effort, these churches no sooner had rest than they returned to their first pursuit, and resumed their primal efforts. In April 1809, a meeting of the pastors in the west was convened at Glasgow for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety and practicability of making such arrangements as should enable the pastors to undertake journeys during the summer in different parts of the country for the purpose of preaching the

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gospel. "This meeting originated," we are told, "in a lively conviction that itinerant labours such as those proposed, having in view the conversion to God of sinners perishing for lack of knowledge, have been for some years past criminally neglected."* In pursuance of the object contemplated, arrangements were adopted for sending ministers through the shires of Angus, Ayr, Galloway, and Orkney, in the course of the ensuing summer. In the following year a larger number, among whom were both Mr. Ewing and Mr. Wardlaw, took the field. These two, though they went separately—Mr. Ewing first, Mr. Wardlaw a fortnight later, followed the same course, which lay in Stirlingshire. It is reported that the audiences were in general large and attentive. They discovered a disposition to hear the word of life, and many of them expressed a strong wish that such visits should be more frequently repeated." †

By efforts like these the cause of God was promoted, and many additions made to the membership of the Congregational churches. But the changes which had taken place in consequence of the rupture with Mr. Haldane had deprived these churches of the source to which they had been wont to look for a supply of preachers and pastors to carry forward the work to which these itinerant labours gave a commencement or an enlargement. This had occasioned no small anxiety to the leading men in the denomination, and much had been said as to the desirableness of opening an institution, to be supported by the churches, for the training of young men for the work of the ministry. In 1811 these preliminary aspirations and consultations came to a head, and resulted in the formation of what was called, after the fashion then prevailing in England—though somewhat unhappily, I think—the Glasgow Theological *Academy*. This institution was formed at a meeting held in Glasgow on the 13th of March, composed of pastors of churches in fellowship with each other, convened by circular. The business was introduced by Mr. Wardlaw preaching a sermon from 1 Tim.

* Missionary Magazine, vol. xiv. p. 203.

† Missionary Magazine for August 1810, p. 324.

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iii. 11: "A bishop must be apt to teach." After which Mr. Ewing addressed the assembled brethren, and requested their consideration of the four following points:—1. The desirableness of the general object; 2. To whom the tuition of the students should be committed; 3. The plan of education which should be followed; and, 4. The propriety of connecting with the proposed scheme of education a scheme of itinerancy for the preaching of the gospel throughout the country. Of these points the last was waived as tending to complicate unnecessarily the educational objects which the meeting had chiefly in view; but on the other three points a decided and unanimous conclusion was come to. It was determined that the object proposed was in the highest degree desirable, and it was resolved to entrust the education of the students to Messrs. Ewing and Wardlaw, who were there and then invited to undertake the duty, to which they consented. Much pains were then bestowed on the preparation of a plan of education to be followed in the institution; and this at length having been adopted, a committee was appointed to manage its affairs, and an appeal drawn up to the churches on its behalf.

Thus was Mr. Wardlaw placed in a position in which his mind was officially directed to those peculiar studies in which he was so eminently fitted to excel, and in which his labours have been productive of such extensive benefits to the church. His acceptance of the office of theological tutor in the new institution was of inestimable advantage to it, and his long-continued services in that capacity have proved of vast importance to the churches with which it has stood connected. The situation, however, was not one to which he himself would have spontaneously aspired, nor for which he felt himself at the time very eminently prepared. "In assenting to take part," he writes to a friend, "in the important and difficult work of educating young men for the ministry I have in a great measure taken a step in the dark, from anxiety that the object might not in any degree be hindered on my account. May the God of wisdom and grace," he adds, "fit me for the work and at least keep me from dis-

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gracing his own cause! Pray for me, my dear friend."* In this diffident and devout frame he assumed the responsible office to which he had been called; and He to whom he thus from the outset committed his way brought it singularly to pass, so that ere many years had elapsed his name had reached a front-rank place among the theological writers and teachers of his age.

The sermon which he had preached on the occasion above referred to was, at the request of those who heard it, immediately afterwards printed. Though prepared for a special occasion it possesses a permanent interest as an able exposition of what constitutes "fitness to teach" in a Christian bishop. To the admirers of its author's larger works it will also have a special interest from being the first of his printed productions in which they will be able distinctly to trace those features of style and modes of thought which form the charm of his later writings. The tentative and adolescent period is evidently now passed, and we have come into communion with the matured and disciplined intellect.

And now, the theological school being constituted, efforts must be made to secure for it efficient support. With this view personal application was made to the churches under whose patronage the Academy was placed, and for whose service it was intended. It fell to Mr. Wardlaw's lot to visit the churches in the north for this purpose, and to this he devoted several weeks during the ensuing summer. Leaving home in the end of May, he visited successively Stirling, Perth, Dunkeld, Blairgowrie, Kirriemuir, Letham, Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose, Aberdeen, Crichie (now Stewartfield), Peterhead, Fraserburgh, Banff, Wick, Thurso, Nairn, Inverness and Aberfeldie, returning home in the end of June. During part of the journey he was accompanied by a Mr. Syme, whose feeble health, however, constrained him at an early stage to relinquish the attempt and return home. The greater part of the journey was performed either alone or in the society of friends who, in Scottish phrase, "convoyed" him from place to place. The visits he paid to several of these

* To Mr. Burder, April 15th, 1811.

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places are still held in remembrance by parties then, and in some cases still living, on the spot; his ministrations were occasions of refreshment and quickening to the churches; and in watering others his own soul seems to have been abundantly watered, for through his letters written at this time there runs a strain of cheerfulness and buoyancy which, in one who so longed and wearied for home whenever he was absent from it, is not a little remarkable. Some extracts from these letters are subjoined.

To Mrs. Wardlaw.

Dundee, Wednesday night, 28th May 1811.—. . . Having reached Perth in safety at 4 o'clock on Thursday, on Friday we went to Dunkeld, Mr. Orme and I dividing the road as pedestrians. I preached there in the evening, and next day took a survey of the scenery, and returned with Mr. Syme to Perth, leaving Mr. O. behind us. On Monday * proceeded to Blairgowrie, where we were met by Mr. Orme; yesterday came forward to Kirriemuir, whence my two companions went on to Forfar in the gig (Mr. Orme being engaged to preach at Letham in the evening), and left me to preach and to come forward to Forfar after sermon. The night, however, coming on to be very wet, I stopt all night and walked to breakfast this morning to Letham to see that picture of "Godliness with contentment," William Lindsay.† There I found that Mr. Orme had not yet got forward as had been expected. I got a small congregation gathered together after breakfast, and said a few words to them, having first despatched a messenger to Forfar

* The Sabbath was spent at Perth, where Mr. W. preached three times.

† I cannot pass this venerated name without pausing to offer a brief tribute to the memory of one of the best men I ever knew. William Lindsay was a man by himself; simple and honest as a child, with a heart open to all kindly and generous impulses, with unfailing cheerfulness, contented and happy with whatever Providence allotted, and with a soul so occupied and touched by divine things that his life seemed to be a perpetual conversation in heaven. His lot on earth was humble; his intellectual powers were not great; his education had been but scanty; and his knowledge of books and of men was not large. But though poor, he made many rich; though dwelling chiefly among rustics, his high sense of honour, his perfect guilelessness and his constant regard for the feelings of others, enabled him to move with acceptance in polished circles; and though not what the world would call "gifted," and far from being learned, there were few men who were better acquainted with the Bible, or who could better exemplify the saying of the great reformer, "Theologum Pectus facit." His labours as an itinerant were unbounded, but notwithstanding the little regard he paid to personal comfort on his itinerant excursions, as well as his excessive exertions, he was spared to reach a good old age, a workman to the last, who needed not to be ashamed. He calmly fell asleep in Jesus as the Sabbath began to dawn on the 24th of January 1841. Two funeral sermons were preached for him on the following Sabbath in the parish church of Dunnichan, one in the afternoon by the Rev. W. Lowe, pastor of the Independent Church at Forfar, and another in the evening by the Rev. D. Ferguson, minister of the parish. "The memory of the just is blessed."

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to desire my companions to come by Letham to Dundee. Hither accordingly we have come through roads as wretchedly bad as can well be imagined. Never wheel rolled on worse. This made it within ten minutes of the time of preaching ere we arrived. I have preached and am now writing you this scrawl as fast as my pen will run, because I cannot think of missing another post, and the office shuts against me by 10 o'clock.

I am engaged to preach to-morrow night at Arbroath, on Friday night at Montrose, and to be at Aberdeen on Sabbath. Beyond that I am ignorant till I get there of the arrangements made for me. From hints given me by Mr. Orme, I am afraid they may be more extensive than I shall be able to accomplish within the time I had fixed for my absence. In that case it will become a question whether I ought not in duty to implement engagements made for me, although the whole force of inclination will be homewards. I say nothing determinate, however, till I reach Aberdeen.

Mr. Syme has just sent me word by Mr. Orme, that some of the gig's springs are broken; that they cannot be repaired in time for getting on to Arbroath to-morrow; and that he has therefore some thoughts of returning to Perth, and from that homewards. He has stood his journey very well, and enjoyed it very much; but the roads to-day have shaken him most unmercifully.

Your letter delighted me, as every thing must that sets my dear little ones along with your dearer self before my eyes. Give me as much more as you can of their innocent prattle. Poor dear sweet Marion—how you make my heart yearn towards her! Part of my next letter shall be *printed to her*. Kiss them all, over and over again, for their papa.

To his Father.

Aberdeen, 1st June 1811.

My very dear Father—I wrote Jeanie [Mrs. W.] a hurried letter from Dundee on Wednesday evening, which she would receive in course yesterday morning. In consequence of the message mentioned in it from the worthy companion of my journey, immediately after closing my letter I went to see him and to settle our future procedure. I found him a good deal jaded and languid, his own springs, as well as those of his gig broken down, and by no means in a state for prosecuting the journey, at least without some risk of impairing, rather than establishing, his bodily vigour. It was therefore finally determined that he should return homeward, under the safe custody of Mr. Orme, and that I should pursue my route by whatever conveyances were to be procured. I accordingly started next morning at eight in an open caravan which brought me to Arbroath a little before twelve; where I spent the remainder of the day very agreeably with the pastor of the church, Mr. Penman, and preached to a nice little audience of about 200 in the evening. It was my intention next morning to walk on to Montrose, the distance being only twelve miles. But the day was extremely coarse, with cold east wind full in my face, and "driving, dashing rain." So after waiting till mid-day to see if it would mend, and fairly setting out to attempt the road, I was constrained to return, and to take a post-chaise:—

For loss of *pence*,
Although it griev'd me sore,
Yet loss of *health*, full well I knew,
Would grieve my friends much more.

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Mr. Penman accompanied me, and returned after the sermon in the evening. I got an empty seat in the mail at 12 o'clock, and arrived here "in good order and well-conditioned," at six this morning; went to bed in the hotel for two hours and a half, and after breakfasting found my way to Mr. Philip's, in whose study I now write. He is himself from home, being at Huntly on a visit to Mr. Thomas, for the sake of his health, which has of late been rather infirm. I consequently get the whole day to myself to-morrow; and Mr. Thomas comes in on Monday, to be the guide and companion of my journey to Crichie, Fraserburgh, Banff, Forres, Elgin, Nairn, Inverness, and various other places. I am to spend the following Lord's Day, it seems, at Huntly. I am not quite assured by Mrs. Philip's account what Mr. Philip and Mr. Thomas have determined as to Wick and Thurso; but I know what my own resolution is—that I shan't go, as there are only these two places to repay 130 miles' travelling. It seems, therefore, to be much better that they should collect and remit, without putting me to this trouble and expense, and prolonging my absence from HOME, towards which all the powerfully magnetic affections of husband, father, son, and brother, are incessantly drawing my fond heart. Yet if after seeing the above named brethren, the good of the cause seems imperiously to require it (of which, however, I have no apprehension) I may be under the necessity of "*forcing myself*," and making a sacrifice, to which my friends will not assent with greater reluctance than myself.

To MRS. WARDLAW.

Inverness, Tuesday Night, June 11, 1811.

It is now a quarter-past twelve o'clock, and Mr. Thomas who has just jumped into bed, says it is impossible for me to write to-night, and my eyes, which begin to get *chaffy*, almost say Amen to his declaration. But to write I am resolved, as we must be off in the morning, about six or seven o'clock, and at none of our stages between this and Wick can I venture to trust for time. You will therefore I am sure excuse my brevity, and you will also tell our dear Marion that my promise to her in my last letter to you must of necessity be deferred . . . . . We proceeded on Wednesday from Crichie to Peterhead, and Fraserburgh; on Thursday from Fraserburgh to Banff; on Friday from Banff to Elgin; and on Saturday by a retrograde movement, the reason of which I have not time to explain, from Elgin to Huntly. The ride that afternoon was the most uncomfortable we have had, being in the face of a bleak cold wind, with a heavy lashing rain, the drops of which seemed all to be angular. It was like a shower of pins, point foremost. At Huntly I preached thrice on Sabbath—Mr Thomas going to the country; yesterday came on all the way to Forres (39 miles) and preached in the evening; and to-day came forward first to Nairn, where I preached at half-past twelve, and thence in the evening to this place, which we did not reach (our horse being naturally inclined to laziness, and withal somewhat fagged, with the journey of yesterday) till half-past nine. We had then some inquiries to make after another horse, from apprehension that the one we have might not be able to stand the fatiguing journey before us. These inquiries were unsuccessful, from the great additional expense to which we found it would expose us to take a fresh horse, even although we should leave the one we have with a friend free of charge . . . . . You have learned by this time my resolution to be another Sabbath absent. I have altered my determination still further, not as to the time of my absence from home, but as to my

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route from this homeward. My present plan is to leave this on the morning of Monday se'ennight by the Perth coach to Dalnacardoch ; to come from that on horseback or on foot, as I may find convenient, by Aberfeldie, Acharn, Killin, and Callender (at each of which places there is a church) to Stirling, which I hope to reach on the Thursday evening, and to come forward by the coach to Glasgow on Friday night.

To the Same.

Inverness, June 22, 1811.

On returning from the ends of the earth I found the welcome letter of my beloved awaiting my arrival . . . . . Betwixt this and Wick I had no opportunity of writing ; nor indeed when I reached it. And, although I had had it in my power, to have written thence would have been very vain, because we have travelled in returning quicker than the post. We reached Thurso on Saturday afternoon, and I should have proceeded, or rather have come so far on my way back as to Wick that evening, leaving Mr. Thomas to preach at Thurso on Lord's Day.

From the descriptions given of it, however, I was particularly anxious to visit Holborn Head (some remarkable rocks on the sea coast, two or three miles from Thurso). Thither accordingly we went, and the sight was not only worth *seeing*, but well worth *going to see*, had the distance between Thurso and it been ten times greater. To pretend to describe it, especially in the short time I have before the post hour, would be to pretend to the powers of Milton or an archangel. I shall try to give you some notion of it when I see you. For this time I do long vehemently ; and trust that the gracious providence which has hitherto kept me from evil, will in due time " grant me my heart's wish." Then too I may relate to you the various particulars of our journey through scenes of dreary mountainous desolation and hopeless sterility ; and by roads—I had not gone through Caithness when I wrote of the road between Lethem and Dundee, that never wheel rolled over a worse. The roads through Caithness are bestudded and bestrewed with fine pebbles, some of them very small, not much larger than Sir William Wallace's putting-stones, others *immensely large, as big as my head.* For about twenty miles we had to walk, leading our horse almost every inch of the way, at the rate of little more than two miles or two and a half in the hour. I do not mean that we went all this at one stretch. As to the general aspect of the country, I think if one had the horse of knowledge in the gig, and could trust him to choose the best parts of the road, the pleasantest mode of travelling through it would be with the eyes shut. Dr. B[ryce] Johnston somewhere says, that " cursed is the ground *for thy sake*," means for thy good, because *industry* is so beneficial to fallen man, and *idleness* the bane of even that share of temporal happiness which the fall permits him to enjoy. If this idea be correct, the greater part of Caithness and a large portion of Sutherland have been cursed too much ; for human labour would in such places be almost expended in vain. Even in this widely extended waste, which does not even yield the produce of the curse, thorns and thistles, nothing thriving but unprofitable brown heath, there are some fields of green pastures and cultivated land, which form a delightful relief to the eye, when weary with contemplating the abomination of desolation. These put me in mind of evangelised spots among the desolate heritages of the Gentiles—of such places as Bethelsdorp, for instance, among the Hottentots.

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Appended to this letter are a few lines to his daughter in fulfilment of his promise to "print" a letter for her. Time, however, failed him before he had finished it, so that he had to resort to the cursive hand and refer to Mrs. Wardlaw as an interpreter.

It will be seen from these extracts that Mr. Wardlaw was capable at this time of considerable physical exertion. Several weeks of such travelling as he had to go through on this journey would have prostrated any man of feeble constitution, to say nothing of the frequent demands made upon his strength by preaching. At this time, however, Mr. Wardlaw's powers of bodily activity were such as those who knew him only in later years would hardly have supposed. Few men could equal him as a pedestrian, and he sometimes put his powers of walking to the test in a way that would appal preachers of the present day accustomed to all the enervating appliances of steamboats and railroads. "What think you," writes his son Mr. J. S. Wardlaw, "of a *stretch* from Glasgow to Helensburgh on Monday morning before breakfast, after preaching twice, or it may be, three times on the preceding Sabbath? This was a common thing with him in former days when the family were at Helensburgh during the summer months, before steamers made their appearance on the Clyde. I have *heard* so at least; it was before my time."

To the notices above given of this expedition I am able to add some graphic sketches from the Reminiscences of Dr. Morison, who had the happiness to make the acquaintance of Mr. Wardlaw whilst on this tour, and who was from that time united to him in the ties of an intimate friendship.

"It was in the summer of 1811, when I had completed my eighteenth year, that I first saw Dr. [then Mr.] Wardlaw, in the pulpit of the Congregational Chapel, Banff, where I was then residing. His general appearance, the penetrating glance of his eye, the tasteful expression of his mouth and chin, and above all, his noble and expansive brow, realised at once the conceptions I had endeavoured to form of one 'whose praise in the gospel' was already 'throughout all the churches.' He

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must have been at that time about the age of thirty,* and was altogether one of the finest samples of a Christian gentleman I thought I had ever seen. After prayer by the late Dr. Philip of Cape Town, then of Aberdeen, Mr. Wardlaw took his text from John xvii. 3, from which he delivered a discourse as remarkable for the exquisite beauty of its composition, as for the critical accuracy of its theology and the warmth of its Christian feeling.

"In after years I made him and his family very merry at their own fire-side, by telling them of two circumstances connected with that memorable sermon. From his clear and somewhat metaphysical mode of distinguishing between the simple act of faith and the states of mind which either precede its exercise or are its immediate and necessary effects, my venerable father, whom Mr. Binney, in a notice of his Memoirs in the Eclectic Review, denominated 'one of God's nobility,' with all his admiration of the preacher, had no little suspicion awakened in his mind, that the Doctor was slightly tinctured with what he deemed the heresy of John Sandeman; and expressed some concern to his pastor, the Rev. Joseph Gibb, that so bright an ornament of the churches should have any sympathy with '*that cold and lifeless thing.*' An interview, however, afterwards with Mr. Wardlaw led him to modify his impression; and he became one of his warmest and most intelligent admirers.

"The other incident was somewhat more ludicrous. Mr. Wardlaw was on a tour through the north of Scotland, and was by no means strictly clerical in his costume, but wore topped boots and other articles of dress corresponding to the necessities of a journey on horseback. This circumstance, added to the remarkably elegant appearance of the preacher, rather stumbled the faith of Mrs. M——, one of the old school. She looked wonders, as she saw the young minister ascend the pulpit stairs; but as he entered on his subject, she was seen to become most grave and attentive. When he had finished his discourse, she looked round to Mrs. S——, a person of an exceedingly different cast of mind, and exclaimed, '*O woman! was na' that a*

* He was in his thirty-second year. W. L. A.

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great sermon for sic a young man? But, O he's o'er braw and o'er bonny!' '*O'er braw!*' replied Mrs. S——, '*Fat signifies a man's clae's, if there be plenty o' furniture in's mind? And to find fau't with the dear young man, because he's bonny, is something very much like a reflection on the Creator himsel.*'

"This visit of Mr. Wardlaw to Banff was a great refreshment to very many; and it may be well questioned if ever such a discourse had been preached in that county town before. All the distinguished persons of the place came out to hear him, and the sermon was the subject of eulogistic remark for weeks after.

"There were events, however, connected with his visit to Banff which made it peculiarly memorable to me. For more than two years I had been actively occupied in various walks of usefulness, and particularly in the Sabbath schools, which had become attractive and even popular. Too highly estimating, perhaps, my earnest endeavours to benefit a large circle of young people, ranging from twelve years of age to twenty, my excellent pastor, the Rev. Joseph Gibb, had more than once expressed a decided wish that I would turn my thoughts towards the Christian ministry. I could not, however, feel that I had any satisfactory call to so responsible work. But in deference to the judgment of one whom I so greatly respected, I had entered, by his recommendation, upon a course of Biblical and other studies, which were prosecuted four mornings in the week, at his house, *from five to seven.* The effort was neither without pleasure nor advantage; and certainly the impression began largely to prevail in the circle of my friends, that I ought to yield to the wishes of my pastor, so that I became literally much perplexed in spirit, and was greatly disturbed in my general health. I sought direction of God earnestly, but could not perceive distinctly the path of duty; I had a dread of adding one to the numerous class of inefficient ministers.

"When the visit of Messrs. Wardlaw and Philip was announced, it was proposed to me by Mr. Gibb and others that my case should be submitted to them, with the understanding that I should abide by their advice. I reluctantly consented to

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the terms; and was invited to meet these honoured servants of Christ at Mr. Gibb's house after the public services of the day. The impression I had received of Mr. Wardlaw's standard of mind from the discourse of the morning, rendered the idea of meeting him for such a purpose very formidable; but, with the exception of his resigning the conduct of family worship into my hands, his personal demeanour was so sweet and gentle and winning, that all my fears were in a moment dissipated. His interrogatories too were so wisely selected and so kindly put, that I felt no difficulty whatever in laying open my heart to him; and the arguments he employed to convince me of what he deemed to be the path of duty, had the effect of bringing over my spirit a new feeling of responsibility, from which I found it next to impossible to escape. His prayer also, at the close of the conference, went into the very depths of my soul, and bound me to him by a mysterious tie, which, thank God! was never severed. I requested that I might have till next morning to consider all that had passed, promising that I would then give my reply in writing. I passed a sleepless night; but one perhaps of the most profitable in all my early years. Thrice, at break of day, did I write my promised reply, and thrice committed it to the flames. But later in the morning, as I was laying hold of another sheet of paper, a note was sent to me from Mr. Philip, enclosing one from Wardlaw, which rendered it impossible for me to hesitate any longer. Mr. P.'s communication was as follows:—

When, my dear Morison, you read the enclosed, from such a man as Ralph Wardlaw, I flatter myself that your path of duty will be clear. In two hours from this time, (8 o'clock A. M.) we must be on our journey; so there will be but little time for delay; and, indeed, I wish to know your decision that I may, as soon as possible, endeavour to prepare the way for your admission into Hoxton College. I trust you will hear a voice behind you saying, "This is the way, walk ye in it." Many of the Lord's people here, including your gifted pastor, are praying that you may be directed to such a course as may be for the glory of God and the good of souls. You must not fight against those prayers.

"Mr. Wardlaw's note, enclosed, was brief, but to me exceedingly affecting:—

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My dear young Friend—From what I saw of the state of your mind last evening, I suspect you are somewhat in danger of looking for such proofs of a call to the work of the ministry as are not ordinarily to be expected, and which are in no case necessary. You may with safety dismiss the apprehension of seeking to obtrude yourself into the Lord's vineyard, as the thought of your becoming a preacher of the Word did not originate with yourself but with others. But, my friend, may you not err in another direction, by failing to perceive the intimations of the divine will, as conveyed to you through the earnest and harmonious convictions of others who have watched the development of your character, and can have no desire to mislead you in your course? I sincerely think *you may so err.*

I will only add, that both Mr. Philip and myself entirely concur with Mr. Gibb, as the result of our last evening's conversation, in the cordial impression that you ought at once to enter on a course of study preparatory to the sacred office; and, should your decision be to this effect, I beg to say that it will afford us sincere satisfaction to unite with your pastor in recommending you to some of the theological seminaries in the south.

Cheer up, my man! these scruples of yours will but only make the path of duty more clear for the future. May the divine Master fervently incline you to his own work, and mightily constrain you by his own love! Such is the prayer of, my dear young friend, yours sincerely,

RALPH WARDLAW.

"When I read this letter, which proved the commencement of a friendship of more than forty years' standing, I felt as if all my perplexities had vanished at once; and instead of writing, as I had promised, I hastened to Mr. Gibb's house, and threw myself unreservedly into the hands of my friends, to do with me as seemed best to them. It was to me a moment of intense emotion; and the parting prayer of Mr. Philip I can never forget. It seemed as if I had already received my solemn charge in reference to a work to which I only then looked forward in distant perspective. Mr. Wardlaw's emphatic words, as he shook hands with me in parting, convinced me that he had a heart overflowing with the milk of human kindness. 'My dear lad,' said he, 'I sympathize much with you; but hope, and not fear, is my feeling in reference to the future.'

"During my student life I met Mr. Wardlaw twice, and had two very kind letters from him, which I greatly prize. I allow myself to believe that he never lost sight of the perplexed youth he met at Banff, and sure I am that *he* never ceased to think of him with reverential love?*

* Reminiscences of the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. By John Morison, D.D., LL.D.

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From his long and fatiguing journey to the north Mr. Wardlaw returned refreshed and invigorated to his ordinary duties. During the ensuing winter he had little to do with the students who had been admitted into the academy, as they were occupied then principally in prosecuting their literary studies at the university or under private teachers. The period at which the tutorial labours of Mr. Ewing and himself began was not till the ensuing summer. For some time past he had had much to encourage him in connection with his pastoral and ministerial work. "We have been," he writes to his friend Burder in January 1811, "for some time past enjoying peace and comfort in the church, and have had some very pleasant additions to our number, several of them such as have obtained good to their souls by the ministry of the gospel in the chapel. Thanks be to that God who giveth the increase!" This happy state of things continued during the following year, for in writing to the same friend in October 1812 he has the same good news to communicate, with the addition that of those admitted to the church a considerable number had been from the Sabbath evening schools. At this time he was engaged in delivering to his flock lectures on Ecclesiastes. To this, he says, he was induced by "the gloomy state of the times in a mercantile view, the low ebb of commercial credit and the many and various lessons which Providence is at present teaching of the instability and unsatisfying nature of earthly good.* In the study of this book, he says that he "had found much pleasure and satisfaction" to his own mind. Though, however, he had reached the middle of the 7th chapter by the beginning of 1811, and must have finished the exposition of the whole book by the middle of that year, the idea of preparing his lectures for the press does not appear to have presented itself to his mind till some years afterwards. At this time it was the Epistle to the Romans on which his thoughts were bent as the theme on which he desired to address the public through the press.

* Letter to Rev. H. F. Burder, 12th January 1811.

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In 1811 his only contributions to the Missionary Magazine were two pieces of poetry; the one entitled "A Christian mother on the death of her darling child," composed "as a soothing expression of sympathy with two dear friends (Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert Wardlaw), whom God in his providence had bereft of a darling infant;" the other a hymn beginning "See the Son of Truth arise," which he subsequently inserted in his collection of hymns, and which the reader will find among the rest in the Appendix. The former of these pieces is inserted here; it has been extensively circulated both in manuscript and in print, and has ministered consolation to many a bereaved and sorrowing heart.

There was the parting sigh!
With that the spirit fled,
And wing'd its flight on high,
And left the body dead;
No prayers, no tears, its flight could stay,
'Twas Jesus called the soul away.

O how shall I complain
Of Him who rules above?
Who sends no needless pain,
Who always smites in love,
Who looks in tenderest pity down,
Even when He seems to wear a frown.

The eye of Jesus wept;
It dropt a holy tear,
When Mary's brother slept,
A friend to Jesus dear:—
Delightful thought!—that blessed eye
Still beams with kindness in the sky!

I know my babe is blest,
Her bliss by Jesus given;
She's early gone to rest,
She's found an early heaven.
The sigh that closed her eyes on earth,
The moment of her happier birth!

But ah! my spirits fail;
I feel a pang untold!—
Those ruby lips so pale—
That blushing cheek so cold!
And dim those eyes of "dewy light,"
That smiled and glanc'd so sweetly bright.

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To lay that lovely form,
  So lovely even in death,
Food for corruption's worm,
  The mouldering earth beneath!
O worse to me than twice to part,
Than second death-stroke to my heart!

As summer flower she grew,
  Expanding to the morn.
All gemm'd with sparkling dew,
  A flower without a thorn;
A mother's sweet and lovely flower,
Sweeter and lovelier every hour.

But ah! my morning bloom
  Scarce felt the warming ray;
An unexpected gloom
  Obscured the rising day.
A dreary, cold and withering blast,
Low on the ground its beauty cast.

Its glist'ning leaves are shed,
  That spread so fresh and fair,
The balmy fragrance fled,
  That scented all the air,
And lowly laid its lifeless form,
The gentle victim of the storm.

But why in anguish weep?
  Hope beams upon my view;
'Tis but a winter's sleep,
  My flower shall spring anew!
Each darling flower on earth that sleeps,
O'er which fond memory hangs and weeps,

All to new life shall rise,
  In heavenly beauty bright,
Shall charm my ravish'd eyes,
  In tints of rainbow light;
Shall bloom unfading in the skies,
And drink the dews of paradise!

O this is blest relief!
  My fainting heart it cheers;
It cools my burning grief,
  And sweetens all my tears,
These eyes shall see my darling then,
Nor shed a parting tear again!

And while I feel at heart,
  The blank of comforts gone,

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I only mourn a part—
I am not left alone;—
Though nipt some buds of opening joy,
How many still my thanks employ!

And thou, my second heart,
Loved partner of my grief,
Heaven bids not *thee* depart,
Of earthly joys the chief!
A favoured wife and mother still,
Let grateful praise my bosom fill.

In March 1812, the Glasgow Auxiliary to the British and Foreign Bible Society was formed, and Mr. Wardlaw was appointed to the office of secretary. This post he held for twenty-seven years, keeping the minutes of the Auxiliary, writing the annual reports, and taking a leading share in the management of all its concerns. Of the parent society he remained to the last a steady and zealous friend.

In the early part of this year Mr. Wardlaw was much engrossed with the arrangements connected with the establishment and opening of several Lancasterian schools in Glasgow. Writing to his brother-in-law Mr. Smith, he says, (April 9, 1812):—

Since coming home a considerable portion of my time has been occupied about the Lancasterian Schools, which there is every prospect now of our soon getting reduced into *first-rate order*. We have had *Joseph* himself here; our committee met with him for near two hours and a half on Monday; after which a number of us dined and spent the evening with him in Mr. Sword's, partly in general conversation, and partly on *business*. Along with Mr. Owen and myself he had previously in the forenoon visited all the three schools here; and he and I had mutually explained, shaken hands, and got quite great together. Indeed, with all his failings, of which the chief is vanity—vanity natural to him, and cherished by the singular success and large measure of adulation he has met with—I should not like to be on bad terms with a man who has been beyond question the honoured instrument of so much real and extensive good to individuals and to the community. I like him vastly better than I expected in private; although, no doubt, he is loquaciously communicative, he is yet vastly good-humoured with it, and withal one of the most delightfully amusing specimens of happy self-complacency I could ever wish to see. On his own subjects, and topics connected with them—which of course were the burden of the song—he is very shrewd and sensible, sometimes waggish, but not always with equal success. He lectures to parents, &c. in our Calton School Room on Friday evening, in our Theatre here on Tuesday, and on Wednesday is invited by our committee to a *public dinner*, of which I have this morning

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inserted the advertisement in the papers. So that you see we are all alive and astir, and hope to go on swimmingly. Our new teacher seems to do vastly well; and one of Mr. Lancaster's principal monitors, whom he has with him (brought down for the service of Mr. Owen in his schools at Lanark), is for a time to remain with him. Mr. L. has for these two days been at Paisley and Greenock.

The town has been divided into thirty-three districts, and the general solicitation going on for the A. B. S. The result I cannot yet even guess.

At the close of the college session in May 1812, Mr. Ewing and Mr. Wardlaw entered on the more minute discharge of their tutorial duties in the theological seminary—Mr. Ewing devoting himself to the department of biblical literature, and Mr. Wardlaw to that of doctrinal theology; whilst both at the same time superintended the literary studies of the young men placed under their charge. Mr. Wardlaw does not appear to have made much preparation for his department before commencing work. Writing to Mr. Burder he says, towards the close of the session, "Mr. Ewing and I suspend our lectures during the winter, but meet with the students once a week for reading and speaking from the Scriptures and superintending the progress of their other studies. Except reading to them some of my lectures on the Romans, I can hardly myself be said to have entered on my department. Yet perhaps an illustration of the Epistle to the Romans may be as good a system of divinity as I shall be able to give them."

During part of the summer Mr. Wardlaw was from home on an itinerating excursion in company with Mr. Aikman of Edinburgh, in the course of which they traversed the shires of Ayr, Kirkcudbright and Wigtown, proceeding as far south as to Dumfries, and taking Sanquhar, Muirkirk and Strathaven on their way home. Their journey occupied four weeks, during which they preached on an average once every day. At the outset Mr. Wardlaw, who was subject to severe bilious attacks, was seriously impeded by one of these, which prevented his fulfilling some of his engagements, but which he would not allow to drive him from the field. On his recovery from this his health and vigour remained unbroken, and he returned home refreshed rather than exhausted by the hard labour in which he and his

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companion had engaged. His letters during this tour were few, and contain hardly anything beyond notes of the places at which he and his companion preached. As it may be interesting, however, to many, and perhaps stimulative to some to know the amount of labour through which such men rejoiced to pass in order to proclaim to their fellow-sinners the tidings of salvation, the following record of places visited and sermons preached during little more than a single week, is subjoined :—

We came to Beith on Tuesday (14th July 1812), where Mr. A. preached ; myself returning to Lochwinnoch and joining him again at Beith after sermon. I was intimated for Beith in the morning ; but when the morning came I was not at all well, and preaching entirely out of the question. . . I got a little easier in the course of the forenoon and insisted on getting on, to which Mr. A. at length assented. We were thus obliged to leave out Saltcoats altogether. I went to bed again immediately on arriving at Irvine, leaving Mr. A., who had Mr. Barclay to assist him in making necessary arrangements, to fulfil his engagement, which he did *at the Cross*.

Next morning I was greatly better, and after making a call or two we came forward to this place (Kilmarnock), where I preached last night with much comfort, though to rather a thin audience, in the Burgher meeting-house.

Friday the 17th—Came from Kilmarnock to Mauchline, where Mr. A. preached in the morning and myself at Catrine. I preached at Mauchline also on the morning of Saturday. We then came on to Ayr. Mr. A. remained and preached there in the evening, and I rode on to Maybole ; preached there that evening and Sabbath morning, returning to Ayr before the afternoon service with a view to preach in the evening, Mr. A. having been employed in the morning and afternoon. On Monday came on again to Maybole, where Mr. A. preached, while I went forward to Kirkoswald and preached, and returned to Maybole. Tuesday—Came forward to Dailly, where I preached in the forenoon ; then proceeded to Girvan, where I left Mr. A. to preach, and having procured a saddle for our horse rode to Barr by a road partly old and partly new, partly good and partly bad—more than six miles—preached and got back to Girvan about twenty minutes after ten. I preached at Girvan next morning (Wednesday) from Numb. xxiii. 10—a striking and affecting circumstance having occurred the preceding evening, a young man one of Mr. A's. hearers having been drowned in less than an hour after the sermon, in which Mr. A. had particularly pressed on their attention the uncertainty of life, his subject being the axe laid at the root of the tree. Came forward after sermon on Wednesday morning to Ballantrae, Mr. A. dropping me at Colmonell (five miles from it) by the way, where I preached in the evening, and walked on to B., whither Mr. A. had gone to preach. I preached there next morning. We then came on to Cairn, where Mr. A. preached, and thence to this place (Stranraer), where after some delay from difficulty in finding the Magistrates, we obtained the Town Hall, and I preached to as many as it would hold at 8 o'clock. Mr. A. is intimated for to-morrow morning. If it is fair I mean to drive early to Portpatrick to

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preach and to return (the distance nine miles), and then we go on together to Glenluce for the evening.

Friday (24th June), half-past one.—Just returned from Portpatrick. We are about to dine and get on to Glenluce.

One of the places visited by Mr. Wardlaw on this tour was Kirkcudbright. "On arriving at this town I asked," he writes, "the ostler at the inn if he thought I could have a congregation gathered. He stared at me in amazement, when I said, 'I am quite in earnest; suppose I had a chair placed here, do you think I could have a congregation?' 'Ou aye,' he replied, 'for religion is a great deal thocht o' in *this* place.' The bellman was sent through, and in about an hour, I preached to a very attentive and excellent congregation."

From this tour Mr. Wardlaw returned home to encounter the tidings of an afflictive dispensation which had befallen his father's family circle. It has been already mentioned that Mr. John Wardlaw had entered the army, and left his native country to join the troops which were at this time engaged in driving the legions of Napoleon out of the Peninsula. Many an anxious thought, of which he was the subject, disturbed the serenity of that peaceful family circle from the midst of which he had gone out, and many a fervent prayer for his safety and for his best interests was offered both in secret and around the family altar by those who followed him with their love amid those scenes of heroic adventure and incessant hazard through which he was passing. "We had a letter a few days ago from John," writes his brother to a friend, "dated Salamanca, November 22d (1808). Since that time, however, affairs in that quarter have experienced a very gloomy reverse, such as very naturally to renew in a greater degree than ever our anxiety, and especially that of his dear father, for his safety and well-being. Poor fellow! would to God that the serious work in which he has been or may yet be engaged, may lead him to consideration and thoughtfulness! and that his life, if it is spared, may be spared for the service and glory of God, that he may be a good soldier of Jesus Christ, fighting the good fight of faith, and laying hold on eternal

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life."* For a season the anxious prayers of his friends were answered in his continued preservation, though amidst constant peril. He outlived the "bloody day" of Talavera; he escaped unhurt from the perilous conflict of the light division, under General Craufurd, to which he belonged, when assailed after the capitulation of Ciudad Rodrigo by the whole force of the corps under Marshall Ney; he came out unscathed from the crowded field of "Albuera lavish of the dead;" and, though in many other less noted encounters, a merciful Providence still protected him. At length, however, his time came. Having accepted the commission of Captain in the Portuguese Brigade under General Beresford, he had the command of a company of the 4th Caçadors at the battle of Salamanca on the 22d of July 1812. From sunrise till towards evening he was constantly engaged on that memorable day, conducting himself with such skill and gallantry "as to draw forth," says one who was present at the battle,† "the most unbounded praise I ever heard bestowed upon any commanding officer of a company." About four o'clock, whilst leading his company to a fresh attack, he received a wound which almost instantaneously proved fatal. His superior officer Major Adamson, gives the following account of this melancholy event:—"In front of the village of Arapiles there are some stone walls or enclosures. The advanced party of Captain Wardlaw's company, along with others, were stationed there; but the enemy pressed in such numbers of sharpshooters and light guns, that after a smart defence our party were forced to give way. The reserves being ordered up, forced back the enemy in their turn; and at this moment was my poor friend Captain Wardlaw mortally wounded; indeed he died almost immediately, the ball having entered below his left breast. I had his body carried to the rear and interred in the right hand village of the Arapiles (not the one in which he fell) by an officer and a party. You must be aware little time was afforded us at the close of a hard fought day." "I, as well as every

* To Mr. Ogilvy, December 16th 1808.
† Lieutenant Middleton, 95th Regiment.

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officer of the battalion who was favoured with his acquaintance," writes the same officer to Mr. Wardlaw senior, "feel his loss and deeply regret it; but we have this satisfaction that he fell victorious." Such is ever the soldier's consolation, and it is something; for if one's friends are to fall in battle, one would rather that they fell "with their back to the field and their face to the foe," and that they shed not their blood in vain, but died amid the shout of victory, than that they should have been overtaken in flight, or perished in some inglorious disaster. But to the wounded and bleeding heart of domestic love, some profounder and more abiding consolation must be supplied if it is to cease to throb with the anguish of bereavement; and to the heart of the Christian whose mind turns chiefly to the solemn spiritual issues of death, nothing but the assurance that those he loves have "fallen asleep in Jesus," will minister any effectual assuagement of sorrow. Happily the Wardlaw family were not left without some pleasing grounds for believing that the beloved relative they had lost had not been inattentive to those things which concerned his peace. After the first outburst of grief, therefore, they sorrowed not as those who have no hope; and at the worst they knew where the only true consolation amid the sorrows and trials of life is to be found; and they betook themselves to Him to whom no mourner ever cried in vain. Of the emotions excited by this visitation on the mind of the subject of this memoir, the following extracts from a letter to Mrs. Wardlaw, who was then residing at Helensburgh with their children, will afford sufficient evidence.

Glasgow, August 24, 1812.

. . . . My beloved and revered father continues wonderfully composed, experiencing, I have no doubt, the truth of the divine promise, "as thy days are so shall thy strength be." He indulges the wish, and it is a highly natural one—one in which I cannot help joining, to be acquainted with the particular circumstances of the mournful event. It is possible they *may be* such as, when we have learned them, may make us wish again that we had remained in ignorance. Yet, still conjecture is dreary and unsatisfying; and busy imagination is ever apt to conjure up suppositions more dismal than the reality. We live in the hope of some accounts by the next arrivals.

How incredulous we are of what is absent and distant! I hardly can

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bring myself even yet to a conviction of the melancholy fact. But alas! it is too true. My dear dear brother will never again revisit his native land. All his own schemes and prospects, and all the fond hopes and wishes of his friends have fallen with him on that fatal day, and we shall never see him more! you will feel along with me an attachment to that unseen spot of ground which now holds his loved remains. The place is consecrated in my affections. The desire to be there has possessed my mind so powerfully that I feel as if I could set out for Spain on purpose to survey the scene and weep over the turf that covers his manly form. But while I feel such attachment to this spot of Spanish *territory*, and would fondly visit the fatal heights of the Arapiles, neither my attachment nor yours can well be increased towards the Spanish *people*. Indeed, amidst all the depression and solemnity of grief, I cannot help at times feeling my spirit stirred in me when I think of the mournful list exhibited in the late Gazette—the blood of so many thousands of British and Portuguese flowing in their service—and amongst these the kindred blood of a dear brother—and about *half-a-dozen* falling of that very people for whom all this precious life is expended.*

I have never seen ——— so completely unhinged as he has been on this mournful occasion. He is in deep distress. His mind seems to be incessantly on the Arapiles; and nothing appears to afford him any sort of enjoyment. These fatal heights he is resolved to see if he lives; and some memorial of poor dear John must, if it be possible, be placed on the spot where he fell. All this springs from nature, and I admire it. It has been, and is my earnest prayer, that the dispensation which works thus keenly on his natural feelings may be blessed of God to produce feelings of a still higher order. O if such an effect as this were to appear we should see a most precious end answered indeed—the natural death of one brother made the instrument of the spiritual life of another. May the God of all grace grant it!

On Sabbath, although I preached only twice, I was thoroughly exhausted; not by the mere exertion of body you may suppose, but my mind had been like a spring wound up by a continued and painful effort during the whole day, especially in the afternoon, when I preached from Matt. x. 29; and when I had finished my work it unbent in absolute weakness . . . . . Amidst all my bitter musings on this trying dispensation, there is one topic that is for ever recurring to my mind, and it is out of all comparison, when it presents itself in certain views, the bitterest of all. You know what I mean. To my dear father I dare not speak of it with any freedom. Any hints I have thrown out have of course been, as far as truth would permit, of a comfortable kind. But oh! if it pleased God to present any more satisfactory evidence of my dear brother's having tasted of His grace, having, ere he breathed his last, commended his departing soul to the Saviour of sinners, what a load of distress would be lifted from my spirit. The cup would be sweetness itself compared with what it is. I have never in the case of so near a relative experienced this feeling before; and I find that even a doubt here is insupportable. Yet I would fondly indulge some hope

* Not even so many! The number of British killed and wounded at Salamanca was 2714, and of Portuguese 1552, while only *four* Spaniards were touched. When it is remembered that the battle was fought on Spanish ground and for Spanish interests, such dastardly timidity is without a parallel in history.

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that John was not of late entirely free of serious impressions of those truths which early instruction had instilled into his mind, that the perils and surrounding deaths of this last awful battle might strike these home more powerfully on his mind, and that in feeling his life departing he might throw himself on the free and rich mercy of God in Jesus Christ.

A state of agonizing doubt like this is inexpressibly painful; and when it once seizes the mind it becomes absolutely tyrannical, refusing to depart or to be solaced. Mr. Wardlaw reverts to this subject again and again, as if unable to cast it from him. And yet there were circumstances which to a mind less racked with anxiety were calculated to suggest hope. In this light they appeared to his friend Mr. Aikman, one of the most judicious as well as conscientious of men, who, in a letter written on 2d of September to Mr. Wardlaw, thus gives expression to his feelings on the subject:—"I recollected with a degree of satisfaction, after hearing of the event, what you had mentioned to me of your brother's requesting so earnestly that his Bible should be sent him. I felt pleasure in encouraging the thought that you were not utterly destitute of hope in your brother's death. The desire that appears to have been revived in his mind again to return to the living fountain may be regarded, I think, as indicating a state of mind which in the hour of danger would lead with renewed ardour to Him of whom Moses in the Law and the prophets did write. And I have often thought it a most soothing and just remark of Mr. Traill that 'there never perished a sinner who died looking to Jesus Christ.' I hope your dear brother may be found at last amongst this blessed number."

The sermon referred to in the preceding letter was preached with a view to improve the melancholy event, and it was afterwards published in a somewhat expanded form under the title, "The Doctrine of a Particular Providence: a Sermon preached in Albion Street Chapel, Glasgow, on Lord's Day, August 23d, 1812, on occasion of the death of the Author's brother Captain John Wardlaw, who fell in the battle of Salamanca on the 22d of the preceding month;" with the motto, "O Jonathan, thou wast slain in thy high places: I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan." This discourse is one of the ablest its author

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has published; and the esteem in which it was held at the time of its publication may be judged of from the fact of its passing through three editions—an honour seldom conceded to single sermons, which for the most part die in the cradle. For this it was not indebted to any adventitious interest created by a rhetorical use of the circumstances under which it was delivered; for to these the author, with an abstemiousness which is almost excessive, but which was probably rendered necessary by the very depth of his own emotions, hardly ever alludes except in the most distant and cursory manner. The value of the discourse lies in the clear, solid, scriptural and in every respect able exposition and defence which it contains of the doctrine of a particular Providence; and in the judicious application of this doctrine to the consolation of those who are perplexed and distressed by the calamities of life. From some references to a well-known article in the Edinburgh Review which had appeared shortly before, and which the author, though a clergyman of the Church of England, has since not been ashamed to republish among his collected works, I am inclined to believe that the subject had been for some time previously before Mr. Wardlaw's mind, and that it was in consequence of feeling the preciousness to himself of the doctrine which Mr. Sydney Smith had tried so profanely to ridicule, that he was led to make it the theme of discourse on the occasion of his brother's death. Be this as it may, however, the sermon is no hasty or perfunctory production; it is the mature work of a theologian and a philosopher, and as such deserves to be perused by all who would have their minds enlightened or confirmed on the subject to which it relates. I may add that it contains some passages, especially in the latter part of it, marked by all the features of that serene eloquence which peculiarly characterised its author's best pulpit efforts.

The numerous and engrossing duties in which he had this year been engaged did not prevent Mr. Wardlaw from regularly attending the meetings and taking a share in the business of the Literary and Commercial Society. Two papers were read by him this year before its members; one on the 5th of March on the

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subject of "Artificial Memory;" the other on the 3d of December on the subject of "Divorce," being the second essay on that subject which he had contributed to the Transactions of the Society. To the Missionary Magazine also he sent three papers this year, which appeared in the numbers for January, February, and March. They are all on the same subject—"The Supreme Divinity and Distinct Personality of Christ asserted in John i. 1-4." In these papers we have the first rough sketch of thoughts, reasonings and criticisms which were afterwards to be reproduced in a more effective form, in a work which constituted its author's first extended publication, and still constitutes one of his most enduring claims to the respect and homage of the Church of Christ.

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CHAPTER VI.

A. D. 1813—A. D. 1819.

MR. WARDLAW had now passed through the initiatory stage of his career as a public man. He had succeeded in collecting a congregation, respectable both for its numbers and the intelligence and piety of its members. He had outlived the storms and surmounted the difficulties under which not a few of his brethren had sunk. He had obtained a position of influence in the denomination to which he belonged, and had been placed by them in a situation of responsibility and trust as one of the professors in their theological school. And he had made successive appearances on the field of authorship, by which his name had been carried to many parts of the kingdom where as yet his face and voice were unknown. All the while his own intellectual strength and resources had been increasing, and with these his skill and fitness for the efficient use of his powers and acquirements in the service of his Divine Master. The leadings of Providence were about to conduct him to a field where he had scope and occasion for his best efforts in the defence and vindication of his Master's claims.

The papers which he communicated in the beginning of 1812 to the Missionary Magazine show that he was at that time engaged in inquiries relative to the scriptural evidence in support of the supreme divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ. To these he was in the first instance led by his official duty as a theological professor, and at first he seems to have had no intention of employing his materials in any more public service than that of the class-room. In the beginning of 1813, however, being

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anxious to select some suitable subject for a course of lectures to be delivered once a month on the Sabbath evening in his chapel, he was induced to fix upon the subject of our Lord's Divinity and Atonement, partly because he had the materials for a course on that subject partially collected, partly because through the efforts of the Unitarians in Glasgow public attention was already directed to the questions at issue between them and the evangelical churches. He accordingly announced a course of lectures on this subject, and delivered the first on the evening of the first Sabbath in March. The interest excited by these lectures was great; more especially as Mr. Yates, the Unitarian minister, was in the habit of attending on Mr. Wardlaw's lectures and replying to his statements on a subsequent evening in his own chapel. Very much against the wishes of the pastor of Albion Street Chapel he was thus compelled to assume the appearance of a polemic who was engaged in a series of regular pitched battles with an antagonist. Disagreeable as this was, however, he felt that having once entered the arena he must hold on unflinchingly in his defence of the truth. To mitigate as much as possible the appearance of intentional conflict, as well as from some conscientious scruples about joining or seeming to join in worship with Unitarians, he did not return the compliment of going to Mr. Yates's chapel to hear his lectures. This exposed him in some quarters to a charge of illiberality, under which, however, he sat very easily. With Mr. Yates himself he continued on terms of friendly intercourse; their acquaintance having commenced at the meetings of the Literary and Commercial Society; though the sensitiveness of Mr. Yates and his proneness to regard all the hard hits dealt by Mr. Wardlaw to the Unitarian dogmas and arguments, as intentional insults to the members of that body, had well nigh endangered their amicable relations at the outset of the controversy.

Mr. Wardlaw's course was no sooner finished than he received numerous and urgent applications to commit his discourses to the press. With this request he complied, and in the preparation of them for publication all his spare time during the ensuing winter

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was occupied. They appeared in an octavo volume in the spring of 1814, and were immediately welcomed by the public both in Scotland and England as a most seasonable, lucid and convincing defence of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian system. In the reviews of the day the volume was commended in the strongest terms, and the author received from many quarters letters of thanks and praise that must have afforded him peculiar gratification and encouragement. Among the rest his former professor, the venerable Dr. Lawson of Selkirk, wrote him a cordial (though almost utterly undecipherable) epistle, of which I can make out this much, that he could give the lectures "a high degree of almost unqualified praise," and that he thought no answers could be given to the arguments employed "but such as must carry in them plain marks of their futility." In America also the work speedily excited notice and obtained extensive circulation, an edition of 1500 copies being quickly disposed of. The late Dr. Leonard Woods of Andover says respecting it, that it "was of great value in New England. It was published," he adds, "at a time when such a work was much needed . . . . . It was circulated and read extensively, and did much towards strengthening the decided friends of truth, enlightening and confirming the wavering and checking the confidence and zeal of Unitarians."* To the same effect also is the testimony of Dr. Morse of Charlestown, who in a letter to the author, dated February 14, 1816, says, "Never did a work arrive more seasonably. It found us just at the commencement of an open controversy on the very points of which you treat, and coming from abroad—from one against whom no personal prejudices had been excited, and happily written in so good a spirit, it had the greater weight and more extensive influence. Very many have reason to thank God for the effects

* Letter to Miss Wardlaw, 22d April 1854. Since the date of this letter the venerable writer of it has been taken to his rest. Between him and the subject of this memoir there subsisted a cordial and admiring friendship which was sustained by a steady epistolary correspondence. In many respects they mentally resembled each other, and it would appear that in outward appearance they were singularly alike, for Mrs. Stowe in her Sunny Memories says, "Dr. Wardlaw is a venerable-looking old man; we both thought we saw a striking resemblance in him to our friend Dr. Woods of Andover."

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produced by it in establishing and confirming those who are sound in the faith, and in several instances (we know not in how many) convincing those who had embraced error."

Of a work so generally known and which has now attained the rank of one of the standard books of British theology it is unnecessary to offer here any analysis; and any but the shortest critique upon it would be out of place. Suffice it, therefore, to say that whilst it is more popular in its cast, and has less of learning and force than the nearly contemporary works of Horsely and Magee, it is inferior to neither of them in clearness and cogency of reasoning, and is greatly superior to both in suavity of manner, grace of diction, fulness of scriptural illustration, and depth and unction of spiritual feeling.* At the time it appeared it was very much the work that was wanted in this country no less than in America, to counteract the effect on the popular mind of such writings as those of Priestley, Lindsay and Belsham. If the different ground now assumed by Unitarians, who no longer make a fashion of appealing to Scripture as an objective standard of religious truth, but would draw all from within and submit all to a purely subjective test, have rendered it less important in a polemical point of view, to the scientific theologian who is concerned to estimate all the forms of religious opinion that have prevailed among men by their relation to the written Word of God, and to the practical Christian who is desirous to possess clear and correct conceptions of revealed truth both in its principle and in its application, the book will continue to possess a more than common value.†

* The fourth edition of Magee's work appeared after the publication of Mr. Wardlaw's discourses. In it the learned and able prelate takes occasion to refer repeatedly to them, and always in terms of the highest commendation of their author. He speaks of him as "having treated many points of this controversy with great ability," as one "whose services in the cause of Christian truth are highly valuable," and as one "who treats whatever he handles with singular clearness and good sense."—Works, vol. ii. pp. 174, 205, 257.

† The high estimate formed of this work by the late eminent Robert Hall may be gathered from the statement in his Life by Dr. Gregory, that when strongly urged to publish some lectures he had delivered at Leicester on Socinianism, he alleged as one principal reason for declining, that "Dr. Wardlaw had so admirably occupied the ground in his sermons, already before the public, that anything he could offer in print would only be regarded as an impertinent intrusion."—Works, vol. vi. p. 94.

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Whilst preparing this volume for the press Mr. Wardlaw and his partner in life were called to experience the mingled joys and sorrows of domestic life, first in the addition to their family of a son, born on the 25th July 1813, and then in the death of one of their daughters, "a singularly engaging and precious little girl of two years and two months of age,"* who was taken from them by measles on the last day of February 1814. The latter of these dispensations was acutely felt, but it was borne with Christian resignation, and with a desire for the due improvement of the trial. "I trust the discipline has not been utterly ineffectual," he writes, in announcing the event to his friend Burder; "may it have more and more influence 'through your prayer and the supply of the spirit of Jesus Christ.'"

Almost immediately on the appearance of Mr. Wardlaw's discourses Mr. Yates announced his intention of publishing a reply to them. Whilst this was preparing, Mr. Wardlaw, desirous of some relaxation after the labours he had passed through, and in anticipation of those which in all probability Mr. Yates's volume would impose upon him ere long, left home to make a short tour in Ireland. On this occasion he visited with special interest the capital of that island, and formed or revived acquaintance with several of its religious celebrities, such as Dr. Thorpe, Mr. Walker, Mr. Kelly, Mr. Cooper, &c. He also travelled into some of the remoter districts of the country, and had a survey "of the true aboriginal Irish," as they are found in the province of Connaught. He returned much delighted with his tour. "I enjoyed," he writes, "my trip to our sister island very much, and trust I was the better for it both in body and spirit. I flatter myself the dawn has now broken upon Ireland which will shine more and more unto the perfect day. May the God of providence and grace send prosperity!"† These sentences, whatever they may say for the writer's prophetical powers, are important as indicating how strong even at this early period was the interest which he felt for the welfare

* Letter to Rev. H. F. Burder, April 19th, 1814.
† Letter to Rev. H. F. Burder, 14th December 1814.

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of Ireland—an interest which remained unabated to his dying day.

When he left home, his uncle Walter Ewing Maclae, Esq. of Cathkin, was in a state of health which excited some anxiety in his mind as to the result, but which was not such as to threaten any speedy termination of that useful life. When in Dublin Mr. Wardlaw addressed to him a letter full of cheerful piety and godly comfort, and concluded by expressing a hope on his return to find his uncle as much better as he wished him to be. This hope, however, he was not privileged to realise. When he was on his way home Mr. Ewing Maclae died, so that he had not "the mournful satisfaction of seeing him before his departure, or even of accompanying his mortal remains to the tomb."* The loss of this valued relation—one to whom he was attached "by the various ties of kindred, of grace and of gratitude," as he himself expresses it—he felt acutely. On an early opportunity he sought to improve the event from the pulpit; and the sermon which he preached on that occasion was printed but not published.†

Whilst Mr. Wardlaw was in Ireland, Mr. Yates addressed to him the following letter:—

Glasgow, October 17th, 1814.

My dear Sir—I am sensible that I have great need of your indulgence for neglecting so long to acknowledge the receipt of your late publication. My delay has been occasioned by a variety of avocations, which prevented me from turning myself to this subject until about six weeks ago. Having now perused your discourses with great diligence, I have the pleasure of thanking you most sincerely for your obliging attention in sending me a copy. I shall not in this letter give an opinion of the work, because you will find my thoughts freely expressed both as to its merits and its defects in the reply, which will shortly appear. But I have a request to make of you, the importance of which, I trust, merits your consideration. Being exceedingly desirous that our controversy should go no farther, I wish you, if it would not interfere too much with your many useful occupations, to take the trouble of looking over my manuscript before it goes to the press, with the three following views:—

In the first place, if I have anywhere mistaken or misrepresented your meaning, I shall be particularly indebted to you if you will point out to me my error.

* Letter to the Rev. H. F. Burder, 14th December 1814.

† See Appendix E.

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Secondly, If you perceive any of my own statements or reasonings to be fallacious, and can convince me with convenient brevity of their impropriety, this also will be a great favour, and I shall be ready in each instance to make a public acknowledgment of my obligation to you.

Thirdly, If you should think that I have detected in your work any inaccuracy, misstatement, inconsistency or false reasoning, and wish to retract what you have said, I shall gladly allow you an opportunity of doing it in my pages, in any way the most agreeable to yourself, which I shall think consistent with what is incumbent upon me in defending my side of the question.

Although I have been under the painful necessity of replying to a considerable number of what appear to me to be palpable misstatements of facts and bitter misrepresentations of Unitarianism, yet, believing that these have arisen from no worse causes than carelessness, ignorance and overheated zeal, and that the *friendly* expressions in your volume are to be considered as the true index of your heart, I am, dear Sir, and wish to remain yours, &c. JAMES YATES.

P. S.—I shall probably prefix this letter to my reply, that if any disagreeable consequences do ensue from this controversy, the public may see that I am not responsible for them.

To this letter Mr. Wardlaw sent the following reply :—

Nov. 7th, 1814.

My dear Sir—On my return from Ireland ten days ago I found awaiting me your letter of the 17th ult., my reply to which has been delayed by a variety of necessary engagements since coming home. I feel obliged by your polite acknowledgment of the copy of my work which I had the pleasure of sending you at the time of its publication. But with the proposal which it is the chief object of your letter to make and to recommend, I cannot comply, for the following reasons :—

1. Had this proposal been in its own nature reasonable and fair, such compliance would have been precluded by the circumstance that your MS. having now gone to press, I could not have the whole of it subjected to my inspection.

2. The hasty perusal of a MS., either already at press, or longing to be there, would be quite incompatible with that mature and deliberate examination which, on a subject of such importance, I should consider requisite to do justice either to myself, or, which is of unspeakably greater consequence, to the cause which I have undertaken to plead. But—

3. The proposal in itself is, on various accounts, altogether inadmissible.

First of all, my reasonings, as you hint, must be stated with "*convenient brevity*," that is, with brevity convenient for you, but which might not on all occasions be quite convenient for myself. Indeed, I should feel at a loss to know for my direction in writing what degree of latitude this phrase is intended to allow me. Secondly, while you would "gladly allow me an opportunity" of making my concessions and retractions "in your pages in any way the most agreeable to myself," it must still of course be such a way "*as you will think consistent with what is incumbent on you in defending your side of the question.*" Now do you seriously think it would

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be quite consistent with what is incumbent on me in defending *my* side of the question, to commit the manner of my reply to the option of my opponent, giving him a veto on my own choice? 3dly, Am I to understand that you would allow whatever I might think proper to write to be inserted in your pages, *without note or comment*—without any attempt on your part to invalidate its force? Were you to do that, you would, I think, be unfaithful to yourself, and yet were you to do otherwise you would be unfaithful to me. For, to offer any remarks in the way of answer, which were not previously submitted to my revision, would be palpable deceit and treachery, such as might still necessitate on my part that prolongation of the controversy which you so strongly deprecate.

Who would consent to be a respondent in such circumstances and on such conditions as these? I am very sure you would not yourself; nor do I find it easy to bring myself to the persuasion that you ever could seriously indulge any expectation of my compliance.

In the P.S. to your letter you intimate that you will probably prefix your letter to your intended reply, "that if any disagreeable consequences do ensue from this controversy, the public may see that I am not responsible for them."

To what description of disagreeable consequences you here refer I am at a loss to understand. And I am still more at a loss to imagine how the publication of your letter is to exonerate you from responsibility as to such consequences, should they ensue. You and I, my dear Sir, are both of us responsible—and responsible to a much higher tribunal than that of the public for every thing we preach and every thing we publish on this and on all other subjects; and it well becomes us both to preach and to publish under the solemn impression of such responsibility. Whether it will be needful for me, in justice to the cause of truth, to answer your reply, I cannot tell, till I shall have seen and examined it. But the controversy must go on in the usual course. A *copartnery* work such as you propose would be, I presume, quite unique, and in my judgment as unsatisfactory as unprecedented. It is my earnest prayer to God that he may direct both my understanding and my spirit in maintaining his cause. And I trust you will excuse me for just hinting that the dictation of a few inaccurate statements or inconclusive reasonings in my volume (if such there be), may leave entirely unaffected the great mass and main body of the argument. With the skill of an expert sharpshooter you may descry, and you may disable or kill a detached straggler here and there about the walls, while the fortress remains in impregnable possession of the garrison. I trust I shall ever be preserved from that self-sufficient folly which will contend against conviction rather than humble itself to the acknowledgment of an error. The charges, however, of *carelessness, and ignorance and bitter misrepresentation*, it belongs to you on the present occasion to substantiate. As to overheated zeal, it is my daily complaint to the Master whom I serve that its temperature is so low.

The *friendly* expressions in my volume were used, you may be well assured, *bona fide*. I cannot be more your friend than by wishing you brought to a change of mind, and to the acknowledgment of the truth as it is in Jesus; and with the same sincerity that dictated the expressions you allude to, I subscribe myself, my dear Sir, respectfully yours,

R. W.

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P.S.—I take it for granted that if you do prefix your letter to your reply, agreeably to the intention intimated in your P.S., you will feel the propriety of inserting this answer along with it. R. W.

It may be taken as an indication of the sort of man Mr. Wardlaw had to deal with in this controversy, that Mr. Yates actually did publish both these letters in his reply. Most men, after reading Mr. Wardlaw's answer, would have felt that in making such a proposal as Mr. Yates's letter contains, they had done a somewhat foolish thing, and that the best course would be to allow the correspondence to fall into oblivion. But the same indiscretion which had led to the proposal seems to have prevented the author of it from finding how completely the absurdity of it had been exposed by the party to whom it had been made; while the opportunity of acting before the public the part of a paragon of courtesy, candour and magnanimity, rendered the temptation to print the correspondence, with such comments as Mr. Yates thought most likely to tell, irresistible. The whole accordingly appears at the end of Mr. Yates's volume, and characteristically winds up that performance.

The title of Mr. Yates's volume is, "A Vindication of Unitarianism, in reply to Mr. Wardlaw's Discourses on the Socinian Controversy. By James Yates, M.A." He has divided his work into three parts; of which the first is devoted to some general observations on the proper methods of conducting such investigations, and on the Unitarian views of the reverence due to Scripture and the propriety of believing in mysteries; the second contains an exposition of the Unitarian doctrine concerning the Godhead; and the third is occupied chiefly in a reply to the arguments adduced by Mr. Wardlaw in support of Trinitarian views. At the commencement and the close several pages are occupied with matter of a personal kind.

It is not to be denied that Mr. Yates shows through this production a considerable degree of cleverness and dexterity, as well as a respectable amount of biblical and classical learning. But no person who reads his volume will rise from it with a very profound sense of the general powers of the author's mind,

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either as a thinker or as a logician; nor is it possible to divest ourselves of the impression that the moral character of the book is not what it ought to be; for, amid continual professions of candour and incessant protests against the wrong done to Unitarians by his opponent, there are so many gross misrepresentations of Mr. Wardlaw's meaning, and so many strange perversions of his words, that it is very hard to believe that they could have been unintentional. A certain tone of jauntiness and petulance also pervades the work which does not communicate a very pleasing impression of the writer's earnestness, and suggests the idea rather of a party advocate than of one pleading in defence of what he himself felt to be solid and important truths.

Shortly after the appearance of Mr. Yates's Vindication, it was somewhat severely handled by the Rev. John Brown of Biggar—now the Rev. Dr. Brown of Edinburgh—in a pamphlet entitled, "Strictures on Mr. Yates's Vindication of Unitarianism." These Strictures, originally intended for an article in one of the periodical journals, are chiefly directed against the critical and exegetical enormities of Mr. Yates's volume; and as they are marked by the same soundness of learning, clearness of discrimination and precision of statement which lend so much value to their author's maturer contributions to biblical exegesis, they did not fail at the time to be hailed by the friends of the evangelical cause, as a very seasonable and a very effective contribution to its interests. In the judgment of some, indeed, the writer was thought to have indulged in too great keenness of sarcasm—a judgment in which Mr. Wardlaw seems to have shared, for he intimates, in referring to the Strictures in the preface to his own reply to Mr. Yates, that he was restrained from uttering any censure on his friend's "sarcastic asperity" only by a fear lest he might have himself erred in that way to such an extent as to provoke the retort, "physician heal thyself." I confess I cannot sympathise in this feeling. Mr. Brown's Strictures are undoubtedly sharp and oftentimes sarcastic; but before this is condemned we must be satisfied that the severity

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was disproportionate to the offence it was designed to rebuke, and that such was not the best way of dealing with the adversary whom he had to confute. Mr. Wardlaw admits that the trial of temper to which Mr. Yates subjected his opponents was very severe; and in such a case it is pertinent to ask whether a good end may not be answered by following the command which the Apostle gives in reference to certain persons who were walking disorderly in the early church, to "rebuke them sharply that they may be sound in the faith."* I can understand why men of earnest minds who have swerved from the truth, but are still piously seeking it, should be dealt with gently and persuasively; but when one enters the arena against a thoroughgoing combatant such as Mr. Yates, I am apt to think that delicacy of this sort may be carried a great deal too far. I even venture to believe that in Mr. Wardlaw's case it *was* carried a little too far, and that he would have done his part nothing the worse if he had written less under the restraint which a continual dread of undue severity imposed. This I find was the opinion of one of his intimate friends, than whom few of his contemporaries were better able to judge in such a case, I mean Dr. Charles Stuart. Writing to Mr. W. he says, under date of May 5, 1815, "I have gone over Yates. It is an insidious performance; but I have been charmed with the *coup de grace* it has got from Mr. Brown. I wrote him a few lines to express my delight with both the matter and the manner of his Strictures. I think he points out a far more excellent way of treating such enemies of the truth than your letters to him—able and excellent as they are, my friend—exhibit."

Mr. Wardlaw's reply to Mr. Yates's Vindication appeared in the summer of 1816, under the title, "Unitarianism incapable of Vindication: a Reply to the Rev. James Yates's Vindication of Unitarianism." It forms an octavo volume of 416 pages; and is dedicated to the author's father in the following affectionate terms:—

* Titus i. 13.

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Dear and honoured Sir—I feel peculiar satisfaction in inscribing this volume to you, without your privacy, as a slight acknowledgment of obligations which I am fully sensible can never be discharged. To you, under Divine Providence, I am indebted for all that a son can owe to an affectionate and pious father; especially for the inestimable blessing of early religious instruction, imparted with tender solicitude, sanctified by fervent prayer, and recommended by the force of consistent example. During a long and chequered pilgrimage you have oft experienced the cheering influence of those blessed truths which in this and a former volume I have endeavoured to defend; and have been enabled "without rebuke" to exemplify their practical efficacy in the faithful discharge of all the personal and relative duties of public and private life.

May the God whom you have served from childhood to age gladden the evening of your days with "the light of his countenance;" and, when the hour shall arrive—may it yet be distant!—that shall close the period of your residence on earth, receive you in peace and triumph to that celestial home which has so long been the goal of your hopes and desires, where the sorrows of time shall give place to the unmingled joys of eternity.

With every sentiment of filial reverence and love, I am, &c.

Mr. Wardlaw, like his opponent, has divided his work into three parts. In the first he disposes of observations on various topics of preliminary discussion; in the second he defends the reasonings of his discourses in support of the Trinity and of the Divinity of Christ against the animadversions of Mr. Yates; and in the third he examines the more direct evidence adduced by Mr. Yates in support of the principles of Unitarianism. In the second and third of these parts he enters very fully into the examination of Mr. Yates's reasonings and statements, meeting his learning with at least equal learning, and bringing to bear upon him a battery of logical artillery which, both in weight of metal and skill of gunnery, must have considerably surpassed anything he had anticipated when he ventured into the field. Mr. Wardlaw entered on this reply reluctantly, from an unwillingness to be engaged in controversy; but once embarked in it, he threw into it all his vigour, and summoned to it all his resources. He wished "to make it a final answer," and he has succeeded. He leaves no statement or argument of his antagonist unnoticed; and with hardly an exception he disposes of what the latter has advanced so as to render any further investigation unnecessary. The triumph was complete. Mr. Yates indeed still attempted to prolong the struggle by

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issuing a Sequel to his Vindication, in which he acquitted himself with even greater ability than in his former publication; but beyond a few points of minor importance, this second assault left his opponent's positions untouched. So much was this generally felt to be the case that Mr. Wardlaw allowed the Sequel to remain without any reply.*

* The late Dr. Payne in his Lectures on Christian Theology, vol. ii. p. 118, ff. in reference to one part of Mr. Wardlaw's reply, says, "I am constrained to acknowledge that while his critical sagacity sinks on this point in comparison with his antagonist, his ordinary judgment appears in some measure to have deserted him." The point referred to relates to the force of the prepositions διὰ and ὑπό as used to denote agency. Mr. Yates, in endeavouring to set aside the evidence accruing from such passages as John i. 3, 10; Col. i. 16, 17, in favour of the supreme deity of Jesus Christ, from their ascribing to him the work of creation, argues that the preposition used is διὰ, which simply denotes mediate or instrumental efficiency, whereas the preposition which alone is used to denote primary and immediate efficiency is ὑπό. To this Mr. Wardlaw replies by showing that this rule, though expressing a *general* law of Greek syntax, is by no means *universal*, for that cases occur in which ὑπό denotes instrumental and διὰ denotes primary efficiency; adducing in proof four passages from the New Testament for the former and eighteen for the latter. After carefully considering the statements of both controversialists, I can see no ground whatever for Dr. Payne's somewhat severe animadversions. I can detect no *sinking* on the part of Mr. Wardlaw's "critical sagacity," either in the ground he has assumed or in the evidence by which he sustains it; and in what particular he has allowed his ordinary judgment to desert him I cannot discover. To me his reply, so far as it goes, seems conclusive and felicitous. He shows that what Mr. Yates affirms to be a universal rule of Greek syntax is not so, and he takes advantage of what his antagonist has advanced that is really true to point out that he "has forged a weapon against himself." It is true that *all* the instances he adduces are not safe from the detracting influence of a various reading; but the great majority of them are critically unimpeachable, and sufficient to prove that no such conclusive canon as Mr. Yates has laid down can be admitted. The authority of the best lexicographers and grammarians is on Mr. Wardlaw's side; and indisputable instances from classical authors may be adduced in his support. I content myself with transcribing the following from Kuehner's *Grammatik*:—"In a *causal* relation [διὰ with the genitive is used] . . . . (c) to denote the *originator*, as δι' ἑαυτοῦ frequently in prose, δι' ἐμοῦ Demosth., δι' ἐκείνου Thuk." (II. 282); and referring to the Wörterbuch of Pape in voc. for other instances. Whilst, however, I must maintain that in this discussion Mr. Wardlaw proved himself equal if not superior to his adversary, I feel constrained to add that the discussion itself appears to me superfluous. The idea conveyed by διὰ when used with the genitive of a person is simply and invariably that of *agency*. When, therefore, it is said, as in John i. 3, of Christ, that "all things were made, δι' αὐτοῦ," the only admissible meaning is that "all things were made by his agency;" but whether he was a primary agent or a secondary must be determined by the nature of the case; and it remains for Unitarians to show how in such a case as that of *creation* the agency can be secondary. If it may be shown that creation can be accomplished through a *communicated* power, I do not see how such passages as John i. 3, 10, &c., can be retained as proof-passages of our Lord's true deity. If, on the other hand, this *can not* be shown,

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This silence was peculiarly offensive to Mr. Yates, and he allowed his displeasure to show itself several years afterwards, when on issuing a second edition of his Sequel he bitterly complained in an advertisement prefixed to it that his opponent had behaved ungenerously to him, in allowing an accusation which he had refuted to remain unrecalled for six years. As this belongs to the period of Mr. Wardlaw's life now before us, it may be proper to insert here his reply to this complaint, though it did not appear till he issued the fourth edition of his Discourses in 1828.

After considerable hesitation, however, I feel that I cannot leave altogether unnoticed an advertisement prefixed by Mr. Yates to the Second Edition of his "Sequel to the Vindication of Unitarianism;" because my allowing the present opportunity to pass without explanation, might be interpreted by him, either as a disingenuous and pitiful way of admitting what I had not the frankness openly to confess, or as indicative of an unseemly and irritating disdain of himself and his complaint; to neither of which conclusions, as both would be alike groundless, should I wish to stand exposed. In this advertisement, after appropriating all the courtesy in the conduct of our controversy to himself, and assigning the contumely to me,—(a representation, the justness of which I must leave to his own second thoughts and to the judgment of those who have read the works on both sides),—he lodges a heavy complaint against me, for having charged him with "deliberate and wilful misrepresentation," and for having allowed this charge to hang over him for six years, observing a profound silence, notwithstanding his having completely justified himself from the accusation, and called upon me as a man of honour and integrity, to correct my statements. Now, if I was then chargeable with wrong, the delinquency has since been doubled by the lapse of six years more. Nothing assuredly should give us more sincere pleasure, than finding ourselves at liberty to withdraw an accusation, which, in spite of the charity that "thinketh no evil," we have been constrained to bring against our neighbour:—and, had Mr. Yates's justification of himself appeared to my mind as satisfactory as it did to his own, I trust I should have been enabled to do this long ago, with promptitude and cheerfulness. But it was otherwise: and, being sick of debate, I thought it better to be silent.

The simple facts are these. In professing to give a statement to his readers of the Trinitarian doctrine respecting the union of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ, my opponent had presented a hideous caricature, in which the attributes of the two natures were blended and

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the argument from such passages can never be shaken, however many instances are adduced of διὰ denoting a subordinate agency, for the nature of the case forbids such a meaning in them. The *usus loquendi* is a valuable guide to the interpretation of Scripture; but the *usus loquendi* can never avail to set aside reason and common sense.

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confounded together in heterogeneous and contradictory combination,—as if in his human nature he had been divine, and in his divine nature human. In a subsequent part of his Volume, he showed himself to be (what every one who knew his talents and information must have supposed him to be) perfectly aware, that, according to the views of Trinitarians, the two natures are conceived to remain distinct, their respective properties not being confounded, but continuing peculiar to each. In these circumstances, I really knew not how to avoid considering the misrepresentation as wilful. I am aware, however, of the temptations that attend controversy. I am aware, that the impression on a man's own mind of the absurdity and contradiction involved in the doctrine of those whom he is opposing may be so very strong, as to form an almost irresistible temptation to him to incorporate with his statement of that doctrine what does not properly pertain to it as held and professed by them, but is in reality the inferential deduction of his own mind. I am quite willing to allow my antagonist, if he chuse to take it, all the benefit of this view of the case. And the very manner in which he justifies himself gives it no small share of verisimilitude. For how does he proceed? Not by bringing forward from the writings of Trinitarians any statements at all resembling that which he himself had given, but by endeavouring to show, that the contradictions involved in his own representation are really inseparable from their doctrine; that if they do not hold them, they ought in consistency to hold them; and that the principle which, in *their* opinion, clears their doctrine of contradiction is, in *his* opinion, the very principle that leaves it open to the charge. But still,—however sincere he might be in his own conceptions of the Trinitarian doctrine, and however natural and strong the temptation to incorporate these conceptions with his statement of it,—still his doing so was unfair and reprehensible. His duty was, to present their doctrine, without addition or abatement, as actually professed by themselves:—and, having done this, he was quite at liberty to demonstrate, if he could, the inconsistencies and impossibilities which he conceived it to imply. But, instead of this fair and legitimate procedure, to bring forward, as a statement of their principles, what he knew there was not an individual amongst them that would own and subscribe to,—nay, what all of them, with a perfect unanimity, would reject with disgust and indignation;—this, I must still be allowed to think,—account for it on what principle we may,—was far from being consistent with the recognized laws of controversial warfare.

Had I felt it my duty to reply to Mr. Yates's "Sequel," I might in substance have said all this long ago; and whilst on a few points of minor importance I might have found occasion for concession, the necessity would have been more frequent for pointed animadversion. But I could perceive no benefit likely to accrue to the cause of truth from protracting the discussion. There was enough before the public to enable them to form a judgment on all its material points; and to drain off an important controversy to its dregs has always appeared to me unfavourable to the interests of truth, by giving the appearance of undue consequence to subordinate and nonessential topics,—and leading inconsiderate readers, who cannot fancy that what is deemed worthy of a succession of pamphlets can be of little moment, to the formation of entirely mistaken estimates and false conclusions,—imagining the dispute to be still about the kernel, when it is only about a few fragments of the shell. Having no pleasure in disputing for disputation's sake,

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and convinced that no motive can justify its continuance beyond the point which the cause of truth appears absolutely to require, I thought it preferable, in these circumstances, to allow my opponent the advantage of the last word.

From the engrossing character of the controversy into which Mr. Wardlaw had been drawn, it had necessarily made a severe demand upon his time and energies. This however did not prevent his continuing to take an interest both in matters of public importance and those of denominational interest. He continued also his attendance on the meetings of the Literary and Commercial Society; and in 1815 contributed three papers to its transactions, the first on "Female Education," read on the 16th of March, the second read on the 30th of the same month, on "The Evils arising from the Want of a Due Proportion between Crimes and Punishments," and the third, read on December 14th, on "The present Persecution of the Protestants in France." The subjects of these papers show the variety of his studies; and when it is remembered that they were read during the very heat of his controversy with Mr. Yates, they afford indication not only of the versatility of his intellect, but also of the undisturbed buoyancy and vigour with which, notwithstanding the annoyances and anxieties of a great public controversy, he was enabled to pursue studies which had no relation to the subject of that controversy. His increasing duties, however, he began to find incompatible with the retention of his place as secretary of that society, and accordingly in April 1816 he tendered his resignation of that office. On this occasion it was moved by Dr. Nimmo and seconded by Mr. Yates that "the society do express in a suitable manner the high sense they entertain of the benefit derived from the judicious manner in which he discharged the duties of Secretary, and their deep regret that his arrangements rendered it necessary for him to resign the office;" and a committee having been appointed to consider and report as to what was a "suitable manner" of expressing the society's gratitude, the following resolution was in consequence adopted on the 27th of April:—

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That the Society express to Mr. Wardlaw their most grateful acknowledgments for his judicious and diligent discharge of the office of Secretary, and for the great advantage derived to the Society from the share taken by him in their discussions, and that as a small testimony of their heartfelt esteem for his character, and gratitude for his services, they request his acceptance of a copy of Wetstein's Greek Testament, having a suitable inscription, or of any similar memorial which it would be agreeable to him to receive.

Mr. Wardlaw having declared his preference of the work proposed by the society, a copy of Wetstein's New Testament appropriately bound was sent to him, accompanied by a courteous letter from Mr. Yates who had succeeded him in the Secretaryship. This present bore the following inscription, of which the sentiment is better than the Latinity—"*Viro Reverendo*, RODULPHO WARDLAW, *Pignus Amicitiae, necnon Animi Grati* PROPTER MUNUS SCRIBAE *ab illo feliciter et diligentissime exactum, Hocce opus sacrosanctum, D. D. D.* SOCIETAS GLASGUENSIUM LIT. ET COMM. 1815.

This gratifying tribute of respect and gratitude Mr. Wardlaw acknowledged in the following terms:—

The work presented to me is one of great intrinsic value, and shall be preserved by me with peculiar care as a pledge of the regard of gentlemen whose esteem I shall ever account it an honour to have in any measure enjoyed.

I cannot however but feel ashamed when I look at it, and consider how slight have been the services to the Society of which it is a declared acknowledgment and memorial.

Mr. Wardlaw retained his connection with the society for many years after this, and read several papers before it which will be noticed in due course.

In the summer of 1815, he had the happiness of resuming personal intercourse with his friend Fletcher, who visited Scotland that year as one of a deputation from the London Missionary Society; and in October of the same year he renewed the pleasure by visiting his friend at Blackburn, where he was then occupying a sphere of great influence and usefulness. When thus absent from home Mr. Wardlaw was wont frequently, partly for his own amusement, partly for the recreation of those he had left behind, to despatch to his family rhyming letters, giving an

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account of his journey. Of these innocent and oftentimes cleverly executed *jeux d'esprit* the following, sent at this time from Preston, and addressed to Mrs. Wardlaw, may be taken as a specimen :—

Preston, October 18, 1815.

I hope you will not think I have been in *too* good spirits when I write you the following *notandums* of our journey hitherto. They were strung together, as they tell themselves, to *while* away a waking night. They answered that end; if they serve the additional one of giving *you* any amusement, so much the better.

'Twas *touch and go*—but I got my seat ;—
And then—'twas smash and go—as fleet,
(With sixteen prancing horses' feet),
As wretched roads permitted.
Within—no monstrous oily whale—
But "four insides," the pick and wale
By Nature form'd to fill a Mail,
Our bodies gauged and fitted.

By Hamilton and Douglass Mill,
And Bodesby End, or what you will,
And Elvan Foot, and Ericstone Hill,
(A hill that's not to scoff at),
At fifteen minutes past eleven,
Though rough the roads, yet smartly driven,
We came at length to Moffat.

With better roads, and drivers gay,
Cheer'd with bad whisky and good pay,
We roll'd along and drove away,
In famous Jehu style.
So in my great-coat snugly wrapt,
With kerchief'd neck, and nicely cap't,
I mused—and fain I would have *nap't*,
'Twixt Moffat and Carlisle.

But Morpheus, while my comrades slept,
Still on my lids his vigils kept,
Nor from his watch five minutes stept,
To give those minutes rest.
So, failing sleep, I fell to rhyming,
And line came after line a-chiming,
Each as it could the cadence timing,
As to the ranks it press'd.

As when the stately wedder leads,
With tinkling bell along the meads,
The path to where the shepherd feeds,
The rest are sure to find it.

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So when a line goes—jingle, jingle,
Another follows, tingle, tingle,
All helter skelter, each comes single,
With twenty more behind it.

As Ecclefechan near we drew,
One of our steeds uneasy grew,
As if the beast had lost a shoe—
And a shoe, to be sure, was gone.
The smith was in bed, but we rous'd him out o't,
While the *Smith* in the coach knew nothing about it,*
'Tis a fact, I assure you, howe'er you may doubt it,
So fast asleep was *John!*

And so was a younker whose thread-mill was roaring,
Who lay in the corner most daintily snoring,
Like the sounds heard at Carron when cannon are boring,
A notable sleeper was he:—
Friend Morpheus had given an opiate dose,
And inspired with appropriate music his nose;
To oblivion sent were his cares and cold toes.
He slept for himself and for me.

At half-past six we reach'd Carlisle,
And breakfasted and stopt a while;
And then, my dear—what then?
Why then with belly timber lined,
Soon as the horn began to wind,
We sprang to our berths again.

The day was breezy, cool, and clear,
The country fine, both far and near,
It wanted nothing but my dear,
To make me quite enjoy it.
Fine!—I except the Falls of Shap;
Whene'er on them your lot may hap,
Improve your time, and take a nap,
For better you can't employ it.

From stage to stage I need not dance;
At Lancaster we got a glance,
(It was no more), of Joseph France,†
And then push'd on to Preston:
Where after tea, in order due,
The drinking of which yields nothing new,
Each to his chamber quickly flew,
Glad of a couch to rest on.

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* His fellow-traveller.

† The Rev. Joseph France, afterwards of Ham. He had been a Glasgow student.

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Tired Nature's sweet restorer now
Sat softly down upon my brow,
And gently closed my eyes;
I slept, and slept, so soft and sound,
While all was still and quiet around,
Till—it was time to rise.

The chaise for Blackburn at the door. Farewell. Kind love to all friends.

The allusion in the first line of the above effusion has reference to what may be regarded as somewhat of an infirmity on the part of the writer—a propensity, namely, to delay to the last moment when he had to set out on a journey, so that his getting off at last was generally a "touch-and-go" matter. An anecdote has been preserved relating to this which is worth recording, as illustrative of his playful and ready wit. He and Mr. Ewing, who, in this respect the opposite of his colleague, was most punctiliously punctual to all engagements, had occasion to go together by one of the Clyde steamers to perform some conjoint duty. Mr. E., as was his wont, was on board long before the time appointed for sailing, and was sitting on the deck with his usual placid exterior, but inwardly fretting over the non-appearance of his companion. At length the moment for sailing had arrived; the bell had been rung for the last time; the steam was up; the vessel was unmoored; and already the paddle had struck some preliminary strokes when Mr. Wardlaw appeared, and by a vigorous leap succeeded in reaching the paddle-box and saving his distance. As he advanced to salute his friend, it was easy to see that a fraternal admonition was in store for him for his dilatoriness; so, like a true Scotchman, he determined "to take the first word of *flytin'*." "Mr. Ewing," he exclaimed, "when *will* you learn to be punctual?" "Punctual! Mr. Wardlaw," retorted the latter in huge amazement; "what *do* you mean? I never was too late for an engagement in my life. It is you who are unpunctual." "Not at all, my dear friend," was the reply; "I never knew you come at the time appointed yet; you are always *too early;* whereas I, you see, keep time to a second."

Shortly before leaving home for this journey, Mr. Wardlaw's eighth child, a son, was born to him on September 22d.

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Mrs. Ewing Maclae, after the death of her husband, had retired to the south of England for the benefit of her health, which was but feeble. The advantage she derived from change of scene and climate was not so great as had been anticipated, and she gradually sank under the accumulated pressure of age and illness. During her absence her nephew frequently wrote her, and in the close of 1815, when her increasing infirmity became alarming, he addressed to her the following affectionate and comforting letter.

Glasgow, Dec. 20th, 1815.

My very dear and valued Aunt—I was deeply concerned to hear from James yesterday of your increasing distress. The ways of divine providence are mysterious, but they are still the ways of providence; and the assurance of that should be sufficient to keep our minds in peace. What can well be more minute than the hairs of our heads? And what expression could have conveyed to our minds more impressively the delightful assurance that even the most trivial circumstances in our lot are under the all-wise and all-gracious direction of our Heavenly Father, than the words of our blessed Master, the "faithful true witness who never deceives"—"Even the hairs of your heads are all numbered!" The lesson which the Saviour inculcated on his disciples from this consideration was, "fear not." This lesson is often repeated in the Divine Word, and always with some solid reason for banishing fear:—"Fear not, Abram, I am thy shield and thy exceeding great reward:"—"Fear not, for I am with thee:"—"Fear not, the Lord doth go before thee; he will not fail thee, nor forsake thee:"—"Fear not, I have redeemed thee, thou art mine:"—"Fear not, little flock; it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom;" and above all, that blessed text which lies at the foundation of all the rest, expressing the ground on which all the promises are made, and are yea and amen—that text which was my dear uncle's sheet anchor in his trouble, and which is yours too:—"Fear not; I am the first and the last, and the living one; and I was dead, and behold I am alive for evermore, amen; and have the keys of hell and of death." These are precious declarations. How poor and wretched had our state and prospects been without them! But depending on the free grace and inviolable faithfulness of him who hath made them, "we rejoice in hope of the glory of God, and even glory in tribulations also." We are enabled to say with the Psalmist, "Yea, though I walk in the valley and shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me, thy rod and thy staff they comfort me." Jesus has suffered, and suffered for us; and his sufferings have taken the sting out of ours, and converted them into blessings, even into means of "working for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory." What can I say, then, to my dear afflicted friend but "look unto Jesus!" in the dignity of his person, the perfection of his righteousness, the preciousness of his blood; stooping from the throne to the cross, and rising again from the cross to the throne; able to save to the uttermost all that come unto God by him, "seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them." I write not these things to my beloved aunt "because she knows not the truth, but because she knows

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it, and that no lie is of the truth." I have wished I could be by you, to whisper in your ear the consoling and animating truths and promises of the gospel, but it is my consolation to know that these have long been familiar and dear to your mind. May the peace of God which passeth all understanding keep your heart and mind by Christ Jesus! And if it be his holy will, may he graciously interpose, and "bring you out of your distresses."

It will give you pleasure to learn that the church in Albion Street prospers, and that at present means are successfully taking for reviving the life and spirit of the members which for some years past have been too much on the decline. May God grant that the change to the better may be permanent.

I sent you a copy of the Herald, containing an account of the present state of our Bible Society, which is highly encouraging.

Farewell, my dear aunt. "May the Lord bless thee and keep thee:—the Lord cause his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious to thee:—the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace!"—My dear aunt's truly affectionate nephew, RALPH WARDLAW.

The reference to Albion Street Chapel in the close of this letter, recals our attention to the progress of the writer's influence and reputation as a preacher. Both were materially advanced by his discourses on the Socinian controversy and by the discussion that followed. Of the multitudes who came to listen when these discourses were delivered, not a few permanently remained as his auditors; charmed by the force of his reasoning, the soundness of his theology and the suavity of his manner. The congregation at Albion Street Chapel was thus soon increased to the full capacity of that building, while the fame of its pastor extended widely beyond the limits not only of his native city but of his native land. It was at this time that under a sense of the augmented responsibility attaching to his pulpit addresses he adopted the practice of reading his sermons—a practice which he never afterwards even partially laid aside. In resorting to this he certainly put his acceptability as a preacher to a considerable risk, for few things were then more unpopular in Scotland than the reading of sermons; but the care he took to become a *good* reader and the advantage he possessed in a naturally musical voice and carefully modulated enunciation tended to overcome prejudice, and make his reading perhaps even more acceptable than his free speech had been. The contemporary example of Dr. Chalmers, who bore down all

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opposition to his use of "the paper" by his "fell" reading,* and that of the subject of this memoir who made the reading of sermons attractive by raising it to the dignity almost of one of the fine arts, have tended to make this, in itself most undesirable practice, only too common in Scotland.†

Whilst rising in the esteem of the general public it was not likely that Mr. Wardlaw's merits would be overlooked by the denomination to which he belonged, or that they would fail to offer such marks of their respect as it was in their power to offer. He was accordingly appointed to preach before the Congregational Union of Scotland—a body then but recently formed, but which already included nearly all the churches and ministers of the Congregational order in Scotland—at their annual meeting in Edinburgh in May 1817; but a small distinction in one respect, yet the highest which his brethren had it in their power to offer him. The sermon which he delivered on this occasion was from the text Galatians iii. 10, "Ye are all one in Christ Jesus," and was afterwards published with the title "The Scriptural Unity of the Churches of Christ illustrated and recommended: A sermon preached in College Street Chapel, Edinburgh, on the evening of Thursday the 8th of May 1817, on occasion of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Congregational Union for Scotland." The sermon is devoted to a discussion of the nature, limits and requirements of union among Christian

* See Hanna's Memoir of Chalmers, vol. ii. p. 80.

† "When young preachers pleaded his example for reading their sermons, he was wont to remind them that if they followed his example they must follow it *as a whole*, and after trying a dozen years the other way then consider whether a change would be desirable."—(Reminiscences by Mr. J. S. Wardlaw). It would have been well if the imitation had been confined in either case to a mere following of the practice of reading their sermons; but with that propensity to follow what we admire, which is so natural to us, many were led to imitate the tones and gestures and whole manner of one or other of them, according as taste or circumstances dictated. The result was anything but gratifying in the vast majority of cases. Sometimes it was simply ludicrous; as when, for instance, a man of slender voice, narrow chest and feeble frame was seen making desperate efforts to reproduce the vehement oratory of Chalmers, or some man from the north with a brawny figure and a voice that might have outroared Boreas, was seen contracting his chest, compressing his throat, and mincing his words in the happy belief that he was uttering tones as silvery as those of Wardlaw.

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societies of the same faith and order. The author's aim is evidently to defend the legitimacy of such institutions as the one whose members he was called to address; and for this purpose he shows that though the apostolic churches were independent societies, they nevertheless had such relations to each other and exercised mutually such functions as clearly show that they were also united as sister churches. They sent salutations to each other; they despatched messengers to visit other churches; they had communion in the matter of giving and receiving pecuniary aid; and the members of one were received into the fellowship of any other which they might have occasion to visit. Such the preacher shows to have been the state of things in the primitive churches; and such he argues ought to be the case still. To this conclusion few I presume would demur; but I feel bound to say that it does not appear to me to be sufficient to cover the ground it is designed to protect. The question raised by such institutions as unions and confederacies among Christian societies respects not the *desirableness* of union among such societies, not the importance of giving expression of mutual esteem and confidence in the ways specified by the preacher; but the *legitimacy* of forming such societies into one conjoint body for this purpose. In the case of Independent churches this question is further complicated by the question whether such union of churches be *possible* saving the independency of the churches? whether, in other words, to say that a society is independent and complete in itself, and yet is part of another and larger society be not a contradiction in terms? Into the discussion of these matters I do not feel myself called upon here to enter; I simply specify what seems to me a shortcoming in the logical bearings of this otherwise very valuable and instructive discourse.

A few weeks after the delivery of this sermon a still more decided and noticeable proof of the esteem in which its author was held in his own denomination was furnished by his being invited and earnestly pressed to accept the office of resident and theological tutor of the dissenting college at Hoxton, as

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successor to the venerable Dr. Simpson. Such an invitation could not be hastily disposed of. To one of Mr. Wardlaw's tastes, habits and faculties there was much in such an office as that of theological tutor in a seminary like that of Hoxton, then the leading dissenting theological school in England, to induce him to accept the offered post; whilst on the other hand, the claims of the post he already occupied were many and urgent. For a considerable time the balance seems to have hung in suspense, and much anxiety was felt in Glasgow and among his brethren throughout Scotland, lest he should see it to be his duty to go south. The following brotherly and characteristic letter from his colleague Mr. Ewing was written to him at this time, and explains in few words all the bearings of the case :—

Camp Hill, 24th June 1817.

My dear Sir—I have just received your letter of yesterday. To answer it instantly may seem hasty; but I see you are yourself pressed for an early answer on the subject to which it refers. I had heard, also, of the offer before your letter arrived, and you may believe was thinking of it as a matter of very peculiar interest and importance; and after all, what I am going to say is little more than a referring of the matter back to your own determination.

I freely confess that I completely approve the judgment which has given you this invitation. They have made an excellent choice, as I would assert more at large were I writing to others, and not to you. I also confess that the importance of the situation is indeed very great. It would no doubt be necessary very distinctly to understand the extent of your authority, and the precise nature of your situation, before entering into any engagement. But supposing such preliminaries to be clearly and cordially adjusted, I am ready to think that there is probably no situation of the kind at present in the whole world, where one man could, in one lifetime, hope to render greater and more lasting services to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the souls of men. And I suppose that every one who knows the number of preachers sent forth by the Hoxton Academy, and the sphere of their labours, must be of the same mind.

On the other hand, I should deprecate giving any advice that would tear you from the church in Albion Street, the Congregational Union in Scotland, our little infant academy, your aged father, and a great proportion of your Christian friends in the land and the city of your nativity, and of your pastoral ties. The Trustees of Hoxton may say, we want no man who will not be desired to remain where he is. Your present connections, however, may well urge in return, you know your present situation better than you possibly can know that which is proposed to you. Here you have been blessed with that usefulness and eminence which excite others to desire your departure. Consider, if the views and tempers of comparative strangers be quite likely to correspond with your own;

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consider the weight of the *domestic* charge; consider the peculiarities of a London life; consider the additional connection in which I suppose you would stand to Hoxton Chapel! My dear Sir, I declare I do not know what advice I could give you, but I pray the Lord to direct you, and I shall be very happy if the result be, that he direct you to stay at home. With best regards and wishes for you and yours, I remain very sincerely yours, GREVILLE EWING.

After much anxious and prayerful deliberation his mind was made up to remain where he was. As he himself expresses it, "home carried the day."* Having occasion to visit Leeds on some missionary service he sent thence a short letter to Thomas Wilson, Esq., the invaluable treasurer of the Hoxton Academy, intimating his decision; and on his return to Glasgow he addressed to the committee a more lengthened statement of the reasons which had induced him to come to that decision. Of this document the following is a copy :—

TO THE COMMITTEE OF HOXTON ACADEMY.

Gentlemen—In the few hurried lines I addressed to Mr. Wilson from Leeds I promised, what I conceived to be due to you as the Committee of the Hoxton Academy, to state more particularly the reasons which have induced me to decline the invitation with which you have been pleased to honour me, to occupy the situation of resident theological tutor in that seminary.

In doing this, I shall say nothing on the subject of qualifications for the charge. Although, when I contemplate the nature and extent of the duties connected with it, I feel more than apprehensive that these would greatly disappoint the favourable judgment and expectation of my friends, yet I am aware, that when a man undertakes to speak of himself, all that he is likely to get credit for, is either vanity and self conceit on the one hand, or affected humility on the other.

Neither shall I dwell on those ties of nature that bind me to the place of my present residence. These no doubt are many, and they are tender and powerful. Glasgow contains a large circle of beloved relatives from whom I could not part without a severe pang. I know, however, that my Divine Master requires of his servants the exercise of self-denial, and has said, "Whoso loveth father or mother, or brother or sister, more than me, is not worthy of me." To this act of self-denial, therefore, I trust I should have been enabled readily to submit, had it appeared to be required by the interests of His cause. It is true that the nearest and dearest part of my kindred I should of course have carried along with me. And since I happen to have got upon this theme first, I may as well finish it by mentioning that, unless some material alteration had been made in the domestic arrangements of the institution, these of themselves must have formed an

* Letter to Arch. Smith, Esq., 23d June 1817.

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insurmountable obstacle in my way. The charge of such a household, Mrs. W., with a constitution by no means the most robust, and an increasing family sufficient to occupy her whole attention, should never with my consent undertake. Not that she is herself unwilling. Her language on the subject in her letters to me is, "Your country shall be my country, your people shall be my people, as I trust your God will be my God." "I hope what induced you to decline was nothing connected with my duty; it would give me great uneasiness to think that I should be any bar in the way of yours; or that the fear of giving me additional trouble should in the least prevent your accepting any situation that you thought a more useful one than that which you already fill." But in proportion as she has shown this becoming spirit, this willing mind, I have only shrunk the more from the idea of subjecting one who is "dear to me as light and life," to such additional care and fatigue as I know she could not stand, and as would only murder her piecemeal. It is possible, however, that by some change in the domestic economy this difficulty might have been removed; and had not other considerations been sufficient to determine my mind, I should have represented it to you with the view of ascertaining whether or not such change could be made.

The other considerations to which I refer may be stated in few words. I have now been pastor of the church in Albion Street Chapel here nearly fourteen years and a half. During that period it is not to be supposed that I should have had no difficulties and trials; yet these I presume have not been more than fall to the lot of most pastors of numerous churches in the same length of time, and some of them I have, in part at least, owed to myself. I am sincerely conscious of many and great defects in the discharge of my pastoral duties—defects which, I trust, the present occurrence, and especially the highly pleasing expressions of regard which it has drawn forth from the church, will stimulate me to remedy. Notwithstanding all these defects, I have had abundant evidence of the cordial attachment of the dear people of my charge, and have had good ground to believe that the day of my removal from them would be a day of many tears. I could not find in my heart to think of leaving them. The attempt to realise in fancy my separation from them has only made me feel the bond of union the stronger. I do not think the pastoral relation indissoluble, when the greater good of the cause of Christ at large obviously and peremptorily requires its dissolution; but in every case, the reasons that recommend such a step should be of this palpable and irresistible description; they ought to have in them no dubiety. God forbid that I should speak of the attachment of my people to me as the bond of this union. They have a purer and a nobler principle of connection. Yet there was a possibility of a want of perfect harmony in the choice of a successor, in the event of my having left them; and I should have found it difficult to forgive myself had I been the occasion, unless on grounds very clear and imperious indeed, of schism and discordance in a united happy Christian society, whose peace and prosperity ought to lie so near to my heart.

Besides my pastoral relation to the church under my care, I feel myself placed in an important sphere of usefulness in this populous city, both as a preacher of the gospel to a numerous congregation, and in a variety of other ways. My labours in the gospel have not been without some measure of encouraging success. And I trust that He to whom it belongs to "give

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the increase" will stamp with his approbation my resolution to remain where his providence has already placed me, by granting a still more abundant blessing to my future endeavours to promote his glory in the conversion and salvation of sinners.

You are aware also that I am already engaged, along with my esteemed brother Mr. Ewing, in the charge of an infant institution of the same kind as that to which I have been invited. Our beginnings indeed have been small, but I trust that our latter end will greatly increase. Independency is but in its infancy in Scotland, and it has met with many checks to its growth—many hinderances to its popularity and general acceptance. It stands in need of all our exertions. I am for my own part most thoroughly convinced that nothing will ever procure for it an extensive establishment in this country but the success of such a seminary in procuring and qualifying and sending forth well furnished and able, as well as pious and humble and devoted preachers of the gospel. And although I am well satisfied that my colleague in this charge is fully adequate to the sole task of superintendence and instruction, I should yet have felt it a dereliction of important duty to have withdrawn my feeble aid from an institution so intimately connected, as I conceive it to be, with the progress of truth and of primitive church order in Scotland. It would have been transferring my labour from a field that has no hands to spare to one that is already full of workmen.

These and similar considerations have been sufficient to determine my resolution, without any further inquiry as to the particular circumstances of the situation at Hoxton. For a full explanation of these it was at first my intention to apply; but upon reflection I perceived so many positive and strong reasons for keeping my present post, as to render it, I thought, needless to put you to this trouble. The inducements which I have mentioned to stay where I am, you will observe, are accordingly more in the form of considerations in favour of the situation I already occupy, than of objections against the one to which I have been invited. The latter, however, I could not of course have accepted without particular information, not only as to the nature of the domestic charge, but as to the extent both of the duties and authority of the resident tutor, the state of the chapel connected with the institution, and the existence or non-existence of a church and pastoral charge. For a man with a growing family like mine, it would not have been inconsistent I presume with becoming purity of motives, but only a dictate of proper prudence, to have requested some information also on the subject of *temporalities*, although I trust I shall always be enabled to consider these as only of secondary concern. The necessity of such inquiries, however, has been superseded by the paramount claims which, notwithstanding the high importance of the situation at Hoxton (fully and freely admitted in my former letter), my present sphere of labour has appeared to me to possess. These claims, indeed, are such that the new situation required to be one possessing an importance of no ordinary kind, to procure for it even a single deliberative thought. I find myself rooted here with a degree of firmness that does not seem to admit of transplanting; and indeed the idea of quitting Glasgow had never presented itself to my mind as a possible thing. What I might have done had I been perfectly at liberty it would be wrong in me to presume to say. But those reasons which might justify a man in preferring one of two situations when he was quite disengaged from both, might be far from sufficient to warrant his leaving the

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one after a long incumbency for the sake of the other; to warrant his leaving one where Providence has by peculiar circumstances fixed his lot—which he has long tried, where his habits of life have been formed, and his friendships and intimacies established, and where, above all, he has been and continues to be in some measure useful—for another which is untried and known only by description, where new habits and new friendships and intimacies must be contracted, where personal and family comfort, and especially official usefulness, must be brought to an experiment of which the result is necessarily dubious.

While, on the grounds above stated, I must decline the situation myself to which you have invited me, it is my earnest prayer that the great Head of the Church may direct your eyes to some one amongst his servants who will fill it with greater glory to Him, and greater advantage to His cause. Such a one it will not be difficult for you to find.

With every sentiment of Christian regard, as well as of heartfelt gratitude for your favourable opinion, and with every good wish for the prosperity and usefulness of your seminary—Believe me, &c.

RALPH WARDLAW.

It is gratifying to know that the warm feeling of regard for the church in Albion Street expressed in this letter was reciprocated by its members. This will appear from the following address which was unanimously adopted at a large meeting of that church held on the evening of 25th July 1817 :—

MR. RALPH WARDLAW.

Very dear and much respected Sir—We, the deacons and the other members of the church under your pastoral care, feel ourselves constrained by every sentiment of duty and regard, to assure you of the deep interest with which we attended to your verbal intimation of having received an invitation to be resident theological tutor to the academy at Hoxton, and of the sincere satisfaction and gratitude with which we were actuated when you announced your determination to decline the acceptance of that invitation. And these impressions are now more distinctly and deeply engraven on our hearts by the very affectionate and interesting manner in which you have laid before us the grounds on which that determination rested.

It can never be supposed that it arises from any unsuitable feeling towards the respectable institution over which you were called to preside, that we must now declare, that had your determination been to comply with that invitation, we could have viewed it in no other light than that of a most afflictive dispensation of Divine Providence.

Favoured as we have long been with the enjoyment of your pastoral labours—from which we trust we have derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion—the prospect of continuing to enjoy these advantages, while it lays us under the greatest obligations of gratitude to Him "who giveth his people pastors according to his heart, to feed them with knowledge and understanding," it at the same time tends powerfully, and

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we trust in this instance most successfully, to promote gratitude and affection to the instrument by whom these blessings are communicated; and we therefore anticipate with the greatest confidence that the present event will, under the Divine favour, have a most beneficial influence, by increasing our love to the Divine Redeemer, to you, and to one another.

May you, very dear and much respected Sir, be long spared to labour amongst us, and may you be more and more qualified to convert sinners from the evil of their ways, and to build up saints in their most holy faith. And may He "who received gifts for men," who holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, and who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks," give you the spirit of judgment when you sit in judgment—continue to make you wise to win souls to himself—and may He render you eminently successful "in perfecting the saints and in edifying the body of Christ," until the period arrive when every faithful and wise steward shall enter into the joy of his Lord, and when they who have been the highly honoured instruments of "turning many to righteousness" "shall shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father for ever and ever." Amen.

Signed in name and by appointment of the church met in Albion Street Chapel, Glasgow, this 25th day of July 1817 years.

WILLIAM NEIL, Preses.

The invitation to Hoxton was not the only attempt made this year to move Mr. Wardlaw from Glasgow, at least for a season. The Rev. J. Campbell of Kingsland, who had a short time before returned from Africa, whither he had been sent by the London Missionary Society to visit their stations there, and in whose active and zealous soul Africa had taken a paramount place, came to the conclusion, in which apparently he was not alone, that Mr. Wardlaw of Glasgow was "the very man" to be sent out on a similar mission to that country. On what grounds he and his friends rested this—as it will appear to most other people I believe—extraordinary opinion, I cannot say; but the following letter, which bears the impress of its author's idiosyncrasy on every line, will show in what manner he endeavoured to bring his project to pass:—

Shacklewell, Sept. 4th, 1817.

My dear Sir—When I was in Africa I was fully persuaded that it would be absolutely necessary that a deputation should visit that country every four or five years. Occurrences have lately convinced more than me of the indispensable necessity of such a visitation now, and the Directors will soon have the subject before them. It has occurred to three of us that you are just the man that is to be desired, and they have asked me to sound you upon this point. From the plan that I could lay for you, I think you could accomplish it in eighteen months, and be of more service thereby to the kingdom of our Lord than perhaps in eighteen years' snug residence at home. And should God bring you back, sure I am you would never repent of having

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gone. Could we give any encouragement to the Directors that you would comply with an invitation, I am pretty certain you should soon have an unanimous invitation from the Board. The difficulties are not half so great as strangers suppose—you get accustomed to them the same as soldiers in fields of battle—and for your comfort the wild beasts are all chained in that country by the providential restraints of the Lord, at least they were so when I was there. The only hinderance I can conceive is getting your room supplied during your absence; but even this by prayer and exertion may be overcome I should think. You know they must do without you some time; and perhaps you may have to struggle with some chain-shot from Mrs. Wardlaw, but a few skirmishes might set that to rest, for I must be mistaken of her if she would not be willing to submit to a suspension of your presence for the promoting the everlasting interests of many nations in a quarter of the world that has suffered so many wrongs at British hands. Were you to go, you would have much more means of information respecting the field and the object than I could have at the period I went.

All the reply I should wish for at *present* is just if you would write thus—"I would most cheerfully go on a visit to the land of Ham, could I see my way clear." Don't throw away the letter saying no, no; but muse upon it—put yourself a century forward, and look back to the invitation.

Love to all friends, and believe me, &c. JOHN CAMPBELL.

No doubt Mr. Wardlaw did "muse" a little on this proposal; but I suspect it was with a smile upon his face that he did so. Happily the blandishments of his worthy correspondent did not prevail upon him to quit his post in Glasgow for the toils and perils of a South African pilgrimage; and Mr. Campbell had to re-visit his beloved kraals and dorps himself.*

In December 1817 Mr. Wardlaw published an "Essay on Benevolent Associations for the Relief of the Poor," of which the substance had been read before the Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow in the preceding April. The object of this essay is partly to show the evils of a compulsory assessment for the support or relief of the poor, partly to plead for the legitimacy and expediency of benevolent associations voluntarily formed, and exercising their functions through the medium of a competent committee of management, as a method of dispensing the charity of the public judiciously and equably. The subject of pauperism was at that time very prominently before the public mind

* Of this second visit an account was published on the author's return in two vols. 8vo. Unhappily the work was *cooked* by some litterateur, who, fastidiously regardful of the proprieties, managed to eviscerate all that gave so much raciness and naïveté to the author's former narrative.

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in Glasgow, in consequence of the views which Dr. Chalmers had, with all his unparalleled energy and eloquence, begun to expound, and the systematic operations which in furtherance of these views he had commenced in his own parish. Dr. Chalmers was a member of the Literary and Commercial Society, and had laid his opinions on the subject of pauperism before that body in an essay read some time before that of Mr. Wardlaw. This was doubtless the occasion of the latter taking up this subject. In the views he enunciates he agrees in the main with those of his eminent contemporary. Both were disciples of Malthus, and both were opposed to a system of compulsory assessment for the behoof of the poor; but Mr. Wardlaw was in favour of voluntary benevolent associations for this object, whilst Dr. Chalmers looked on these with an unfriendly eye, as tending to interfere with the operation of that ecclesiastical system of beneficence of which he was the zealous advocate. Mr. Wardlaw's essay is ably written, and contains many things that are worthy of the most serious consideration by all who are interested in the condition and proper management of the poor. The exposition and defence of the doctrines of Mr. Malthus with which it commences are judicious and convincing,* and contain in a brief space a satisfactory reply to the cavils and reproaches with which these doctrines were assailed when first promulgated. It may be doubted, however, whether either of the conclusions for which Mr. Wardlaw contends in this essay is sound. The subject he discusses is much better understood now than it was at the time he wrote; and I presume few political economists would hesitate now to pronounce him wrong both as to the system he condemns and as to the usage for which he pleads. A broad distinction is to be taken between what society owes to itself in reference to the pauper portion of it, and what is due to the claims of charity or benevolence as a duty morally binding on individuals. Keeping this needful distinction clearly in view it is now almost universally held that the only safe principle that can be adopted in regard to the relief of the poor is that, in

* See Appendix F.

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so far as they are entitled to aid from the community as such, a system of strict legal administration from which all considerations of charity are excluded must be followed, and that as respects the operations of benevolence these must be conducted on the individual and not on the association principle. Whilst, therefore, on the one hand a compulsory assessment for the poor seems indispensable in all large societies; on the other hand, benevolent associations for this purpose are to be deprecated as utterly incompetent to deal with pauperism as a social evil, while they necessarily are incompatible with the exercise of pure charity, the essence of which lies in its being the expression of *personal* sympathy on the part of the donor of the bounty with the sufferings or sorrows of him who receives it.

During this winter and the succeeding spring Mr. Wardlaw was busily occupied with his pastoral and tutorial duties, for the session of the Academy was now no longer held during the summer months. His congregation had greatly increased; so much so that Albion Street Chapel became insufficient for the due accommodation of those who were anxious to attend. Writing to his friend Dr. Leonard Woods of Andover he alludes to this in the following terms:—

I may mention to you a rather curious coincidence of circumstances. Our chapel having for some time been found rather small to accommodate the church and congregation, is at present in the market, with the view, should we find a purchaser to our minds, of building a larger. The Unitarian chapel, of which Mr. Yates (who has now been for about two years in Birmingham) was the first occupant, is also for sale—but happily, as you will agree with me in thinking, not for the same cause, but just the opposite. This has not been found a favourable soil for Unitarianism. What they intend doing when the chapel is sold I know not; for little or nothing is said, at least that I hear, about them. A party of Episcopalians have been looking at both places; on which they may fix, or whether they will choose either, remains uncertain.

In the same letter he thus refers to the theological seminary:

Our seminary here is on a very small scale. We have at present *ten* students, in various stages of progress, and presenting various degrees of favourable promise, some of them likely to be rather eminent. On the whole we had never better cause to be satisfied with the prospect it affords. Would God the *character* which you draw as the one you are desirous through Divine aid to form in your young men, might be wrought in the

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hearts and exhibited in the lives of all under our charge also. Then indeed should we have cause to "triumph in Christ;" for surely by such servants he would "make manifest the savour of his knowledge in every place." I am engaged in my winter course with the class at present, which with my other occupations keeps me very busy—as the lectures I am at present delivering I have in a great measure to prepare for each successive meeting.

In the midst of these duties he was invited to preach one of the annual sermons of the London Missionary Society at their meeting in the following May. To the performance of this duty he looked forward with peculiar interest and excitement; and the prospect of enjoying again the privilege of visiting London during the May meetings seems to have lent additional energy to him in the discharge of his ordinary duties during the interval. Having closed the labours of the session at the Academy, and having made provision for the supply of his pulpit during an absence of some weeks, he left home in the end of April for the purpose of visiting some of his friends on his way to London. His first visit was to his friend Fletcher at Blackburn. Whilst waiting at Preston for a conveyance to Blackburn he was introduced to a Mr. Nott, a commercial traveller from Birmingham, who showed him no small kindness according to his opportunities, and gratified him by giving him an account of the saving benefit which had resulted to a very intelligent and interesting young friend of his, who had been a Socinian and almost a Deist, by means of the Lectures on the Socinian controversy. This young man died afterwards at the age of twenty-three in the faith and hope of the gospel.

After spending a Sabbath at Blackburn Mr. Wardlaw went on to St. Ives to visit the Rev. T. S. Crisp, who had also been a Glasgow student, and who cherished the warmest regard for Mr. Wardlaw and his family. Received with the most cordial hospitality he remained at St. Ives several days, and then proceeded on his way to the metropolis, "having enjoyed much" his "visit to dear Crisp." In London he was the guest of his friend the Rev. H. F. Burder, under whose hospitable roof and in whose congenial society he spent many hours of serene and profitable

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enjoyment—an enjoyment which was shared to the full by his affectionate host and by Mrs. Burder.

Mr. Wardlaw preached his missionary sermon in Surrey Chapel on the morning of Wednesday the 13th of May. One would have been glad to know how he felt when called to pass the ordeal of addressing such an audience as that which was assembled to listen to him that morning—an audience composed of the *elite* of the religious world in Europe, and comprising many names round which an imperishable fame shall hover while the church in Britain lasts. To one coming from the country, however important be the position he there occupies, this ordeal is usually a very trying one. The mere sight—the first that strikes the preacher as he enters the pulpit—of some hundreds of ministers lining the entire front of the gallery and occupying several pews behind the front all round, is of itself enough to startle one accustomed to consider a clerical auditor as amongst the rarest and at the same time least desired phenomena of pulpit experience; and when in addition to this he sees on every side a densely-packed assembly, not of formal worshippers who will be content with any discourse that is passably decent, but of persons deeply in earnest in reference to a great undertaking, in which they believe the glory of God and the salvation of the world to be seriously concerned, and for the conducting of which they expect the preacher to supply them with new impulses and fresh zeal, the trial is such as few men have nerve enough to encounter without intense anxiety and much agitation. How Mr. Wardlaw felt in the prospect of this scene, or when it burst upon his view no record remains to tell. With that unwillingness to speak of himself which was characteristic of him, he simply records that he had reason to believe that his services "were not altogether unacceptable." The testimony of others, however, who were present, tends to the conviction that his whole appearance was most effective, and that in substance, style and delivery not many such sermons had been preached on previous occasions of a similar kind. In what light it was viewed by the Directors of the Society on whose behalf it was

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delivered, and by the audience generally, may be seen from the following letter:—

Missionary Rooms, Old Jewry,
London, 16th May 1818.

Dear Sir—With great pleasure I communicate to you the copy of a resolution passed by the (London) Missionary Society, at their adjourned meeting held at Sion Chapel on Friday the 15th inst., and beg to assure you that no vote was ever passed by the Society more truly expressive of their sentiments and feelings.

"Resolved,—That the most cordial thanks of this Society be presented to the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw for his excellent discourse, delivered at Surrey Chapel on Wednesday the 13th inst., and that he be respectfully requested to permit the same to be printed for the benefit of the institution."

Allow me, Sir, as an individual to assure you that your sermon afforded a high degree of satisfaction and delight, the recollection of which will not soon be lost, and that a very strong desire is expressed by our friends that the discourse may be printed; and most sincerely do I hope that you will indulge the friends of the Society by a compliance with their request.

Permit me to say that the sooner you can favour us with the manuscript the better it will be, in order that due attention may be paid to the printing; and if you stay in town a short time you will have the opportunity of correcting the press. In that case the printer shall begin immediately.—I am, &c. GEO. BURDER, Sec.

The Rev. Ralph Wardlaw.

In compliance with the request thus tendered Mr. Wardlaw immediately committed his sermon to the press, and it appeared before he left London under the following title, "The Contemplation of Heathen Idolatry an Incitement to Missionary Zeal: A Sermon," &c. The text of the sermon is Acts xvii. 16, and the drift of the preacher is to show what there is in the contemplation of heathenism to stir the spirit of Christians within them, and what are the feelings which such an object is especially calculated to call forth. These feelings he determines to be "indignant grief for the dishonour done by heathen idolatries to God, amazement at human weakness and folly, abhorrence of human impiety and compassion for human wretchedness." These particulars are illustrated at length, and with much eloquence as well as truthfulness. The subject is then made to take a practical bearing by the illustration of the following observations:—1. All the sentiments and feelings which have been illustrated ought to be principles of active and zealous exertion; 2. The subject suggests the necessity and value of

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divine revelation; 3. The feelings expressed in the text imply the opposite emotions of delight in witnessing the contrary scene; and, 4. The guilt of idolatry, it is to be feared, attaches to many who little imagine that they are at all chargeable with anything of the kind." The discourse is full of fine passages; but on two points the author has dwelt with special effect; the one respecting the origin of idolatry, the other respecting Hume's hypothesis of the progressive advance of the human mind by its own proper force, from the grossness of Polytheism to a more refined and philosophic Theism. On this latter subject there is still enough of error and confusion in the minds of many to make it worth while to quote here Mr. Wardlaw's remarks.

Mr. Hume, the sceptical philosopher alluded to in a former part of this discourse, in supporting the strange hypothesis, that polytheism was the primitive religion of mankind, seems to fall into great, and yet not wonderful inconsistency. "It seems certain," he says, "that, according to the natural progress of human thought, the ignorant multitude must first entertain some grovelling and familiar notions of superior powers, before they stretch their conception to that perfect Being, who bestowed order on the whole frame of nature."* Now, first of all, this is taking for granted what is not only opposite to the Scripture history of man, but as opposite to sound reason, and to every rational and honourable conception we can form of the goodness of God; it is taking for granted that the original condition of mankind was that of an "*ignorant multitude.*" But, passing this;—suppose mankind in this condition—ignorant and barbarous:—was it *in fact* by the researches of science and philosophy, that the knowledge of the true God was subsequently attained? Was it by "*the natural progress of human thought*" that the divine unity and spirituality, omnipresence and omniscience, infinite power, holiness, justice, goodness and truth were actually discovered? The whole history of the world attests the contrary; and we have only to refer to Mr. Hume himself for an answer to this question: "It is a matter of incontestable fact," says he, "that, about 1700 years ago all mankind were polytheists. The doubtful and sceptical principles of a few philosophers, and the theism, and that too not entirely pure, of one or two nations, form no objection worth regarding." I might take notice here, how lightly this philosopher finds it convenient to pass over the remarkable difference in times preceding the commencement of the career of Christianity, between the Jews and other nations, with respect to the knowledge of God: a difference for which he makes no attempt to account. But, without insisting on this, mark the period at which, according to his own statement, the aspect of the world began to change. It was "*about* 1700 *years ago;*"† that is, when the religion of Christ commenced its progress. Now we know that in many nations long before that time the highest attainments

* Hume's Essays.

† Speaking in round numbers from the time at which he wrote.

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had been made in human science, and in the refinement of philosophical speculation. Was it, then, we ask again, philosophy that 1700 years ago affected the sublime discovery of the true nature and character of the only God, and that originated the alteration in the state of the world? No. Mr. Hume himself will not even allow the "*doubtful and speculative principles of the few philosophers*" who entertained them, to be held as any exception to the universal polytheism of the human race. By thus fixing the period when polytheism began to give way to rational faith and worship, he has (surely without intending it) taken the credit from philosophy, and assigned it to Christianity. And was it, then, "*according to the natural progress of human thought*," that the first enlightened conceptions of Deity should have presented themselves to the minds of the rude and unlettered fishermen of Galilee? that they should have found their rise, not in the groves or the porticoes of Grecian philosophy, but upon the shores of the lake of Gennesaret? Yet such, according to Mr. Hume's own admission, was the fact; for he would be a hardy sceptic indeed, who should venture to question whether Christianity, with the views of God which it involves, was originally published by such men;—men whom our philosopher thus advances to the very front in the ranks of wisdom, and exalts

"Above all Greek, above all Roman fame."

Let it not be said—these men belonged to a people who had the knowledge of the true God previously amongst them: for this is merely shifting the difficulty a step further back; the question still presenting itself—Whence, if not from God himself, did that knowledge come? When the world *by wisdom* "knew not God," how did this contemned and unphilosophical people obtain their superior views?

It is to revelation, my friends, that we are indebted for the knowledge of the true God. The intimations of his character and will imparted to the Jewish church, were the prelude, the appropriate introduction, to the full and clear revelation now given to the world.

The inductive or experimental mode of reasoning is now admitted by all to be the surest way of arriving at the discovery of truth. Yet while philosophers admit this, and apply the principle with scrupulous jealousy in their investigation of the various branches of human science, they are, on the subject now before us, marvellously inconsistent with themselves. They continue to talk and to write of the sufficiency of the light of nature to guide men to God and to virtue, whilst the experience of every age and every nation looks them broadly in the face, and contradicts all their assertions. Never was experiment more completely tried, under every conceivable variety of situation and circumstance; and on every trial the great general result has been uniformly the same. A number of concurrent facts warrant among men of science the formation of a theory; if opposing facts are afterwards discovered, the theory is invalidated; if such facts multiply, it is overthrown. But here is a case in which the facts are without number, and all of them concurrent;—no exceptions—no contradictory results. What, then, are we to think of men who, professing on every other subject their abhorrence of mere hypothesis, can still, in such circumstances as these, prefer theory to fact? A glance at the heathen world confutes their whole system. The most enlightened nations in the most enlightened times have not excelled others, either in their views of Deity or in their moral worth. Even the philosophers of antiquity, eminent as they were, were

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miserably defective, and grossly erroneous in their views of God and of the way of obtaining his favour; as well as sadly inconsistent and mutually contradictory in their theories of morals. All that is *good* in any of their systems is to be found *here*—in this precious volume;—along with infinitely more, and infinitely better. And yet the Bible must be discarded, and the crude conjectures of such men, or of their brethren of modern times—not superior in powers nor superior in candour, although superior in unacknowledged privilege—must be substituted in its place. Because others have had some glimmerings of uncertain light (no matter whether of reason or of tradition), *we* must shut our eyes in noon-day. Because they had a feeble taper, we must quench the sun. No! my brethren: blessed be God for this heavenly light! But for *it*, *we* too should have been sitting in the region and shadow of death, "without God, and having no hope." But for it, we, like our ancestors, should have been immersed in all the abominations and miseries of superstition;—treading the cheerless journey of life, with "shadows, clouds, and darkness," hanging over its termination. O, with what exulting gratitude should we adopt the language of Zacharias, extolling that God, "through whose tender mercy the day-spring from on high hath visited us; to give light to them that sat in darkness and in the shadow of death; to guide our feet into the ways of peace!"

Besides preaching his sermon and taking part in the public meeting of the London Missionary Society held in Spafield Chapel, Mr. Wardlaw was engaged in several exercises of a public nature whilst in London at this time. He spoke at the meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society; he preached for the Hibernian Society in Surrey Chapel, from the text Tit. iii. 14; he preached on board the floating chapel belonging to the Port of London Society for Promoting Religion among Seamen; he was present at the annual examination of the Homerton Academy, and gave the students an address; and he took part in a service which he must have felt to be one of peculiar interest, the ordination for the missionary work of one of the students of the Glasgow Theological Academy, Mr. Swan, on which occasion he gave the introductory discourse. Besides these more public engagements he was constantly occupied on Sabbath in preaching for some of his brethren in or near London. Before leaving the metropolis he had a new duty imposed upon him which probably cost him more trouble and vexation than all the rest—that of presenting "a case," as it is technically called, in other words, endeavouring to raise funds to aid in the erection of a new chapel.

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From an extract already given from one of his letters it will be seen that so early as the beginning of this year he and his friends were making an endeavour to effect a sale of Albion Street Chapel, with the view of building a larger one for the better accommodation of his congregation. Whilst in London he received the gratifying intelligence that his people had resolved not to wait for the selling of Albion Street Chapel, but forthwith to erect a new building on an eligible site. To aid them in this good work he drew up a statement of the facts, and made use of his influence with wealthy Christian brethren in London to obtain some pecuniary assistance — with what success I am unable to say. I suspect his trouble exceeded his success, for he was wont in after years, when reference was made to the sorrowful case of a man with "a case," to shrug up his shoulders with an expression which said "experto crede!"

These various engagements kept Mr. Wardlaw in London till the beginning of June. He returned home slowly, taking Oxford, Bristol, Stroud, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Blackburn and Kendal as visiting places in his way. In some of these places he ventured to present his case, but without much success. It was the beginning of July before he reached Glasgow.

His visit to England had been a season of great if not unmixed enjoyment to him. He had revived intercourse with old and valued friends; he had made the acquaintance of some whom to know was a privilege of itself worth the journey; he had been received and listened to with a respect which showed how high was the place he had secured in public estimation; and he had enjoyed many signal opportunities of serving the cause of Christ both from the pulpit and on the platform. All this was gladdening and gratifying, and he felt it to be so. "Had I only had my wife and bairns with me," he writes in reference to this visit, "I think I could have said with truth that into no equal portion of my life had so large a measure of lively Christian enjoyment been compressed. It would not do always," he adds, "but a *religious bustle* such as this once a

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year is quite improving as well as quite delightful." And whilst he thus reaped pleasure he diffused it. "We know not how to reconcile our minds to your absence from the chair you have lately occupied," wrote his attached host to him after his return home; "the room and the house seem to have an air of dulness now you are gone. Greatly did we enjoy your company; 'weariness had no dominion over the hours we spent together, and every sand in the glass seemed to turn to gold as it fell.' In these borrowed words I express no extravagance of feeling, and I am not the only individual who is prepared to adopt them." The man who could inspire and reciprocate affection like this must have carried with him no vulgar charm.

In the autumn of 1818 Glasgow sustained a public loss in the death of one of the ministers of the city, the Rev. Dr. Balfour, who died after a very brief illness in the house of a friend on the 13th of October. With this eminently devoted and useful man the family of Mr. Wardlaw had long been on terms of intimacy, and between him and the subject of this memoir there had for many years subsisted the most cordial and affectionate intercourse. When Mr. Wardlaw was a student this good and kind man had been an interested observer of his progress and counsellor of his studies; when he was a probationer he continued to take a lively interest in his procedure notwithstanding the views of ecclesiastical polity he had embraced; and when he settled as a pastor in Glasgow no one rejoiced in the event more cordially than this large-hearted Christian. It was natural that by the death of such a friend Mr. Wardlaw should be peculiarly affected. He was so, both as a man and as a minister. "I think I have," he wrote to Mr. Burder on the occasion "since his death been made to feel in some degree, more than ever, the weight of the responsibility that attaches to the charge of immortal souls." To improve this event to all, Mr. Wardlaw preached a funeral sermon for Dr. Balfour, which was published. The text is Heb. xiii. 7, and the preacher dwells chiefly on the *exhortation* contained in the text to follow the faith of deceased pastors and teachers, and on the *motive* by which compliance

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with this is urged, viz., the consideration of the end of their conversation, that is, the close or issue of their course of life, comprehending—1, their state in dying; 2, their death itself, as terminating their earthly service; and 3, their departure out of this life as the commencement of a better. The sketch which the author supplies in the sermon itself, and in a prefatory note of the character and services of Dr. Balfour is affectionate and graceful, though somewhat brief and too general to convey to a stranger any very distinct idea of the man.

Mr. Wardlaw was much occupied at this time with the progress of his new chapel. An eligible site had been procured, but unexpected difficulties presented themselves which it cost some trouble and considerable expense to overcome. "You wish to know," he writes on November the 14th, "how the new chapel comes on. Better now. The heavy part of the work is past, and all I trust will now go on smoothly. But *heavy* work, I assure you, it has been. In consequence of sudden and unexpected *dips* and unevennesses in the rock on which it is founded—the bed of an old freestone quarry—we have had to dig deep, very deep in some quarters, to get to the solid; besides some other difficulties which it required time to surmount, but which *my* time does not allow me to explain. We are not yet above ground! but now the progress will be more rapid if the winter shall be such as to admit of anything like regular procedure." *

It was not, however, for more than twelve months after the date of this letter that the place was ready for occupation.

The following letter gives some notice of his labours during the winter session of 1818-19; but it is chiefly valuable as a specimen of true and enlightened Christian condolence with the bereaved. It was addressed to the Rev. H. F. Burder on the occasion of the death of Mrs. Burder's father, the godly and generous Joseph Hardcastle, Esq.†

* To the Rev. H. F. Burder.

† See Morison's Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society for an account of this excellent person.

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Glasgow, April 8th, 1819.

My very dear Friend—Your last affectionate letter ought to have had a reply long ere this time; and of late your dear partner and yourself have possessed an additional claim, which, had it pleased the all-wise and all-merciful disposer of events, I could have wished delayed for many a day to come. But, O my beloved friend, how little we know of the counsels of Him whose hand none can stay. And however fondly and earnestly in certain seasons, when our bosoms are agitated by the alternations of hope and fear respecting what is dearest to our affections, *nature* may seek to stay that hand from the stroke which it is lifted to inflict, how "sweetly soothing" is the assurance that to *us* that hand is the hand of *a father;* and is never lifted for the correction of his children, but in the exercise of the purest paternal love. It is a peculiarly pleasing view of the providence of the blessed God, to contemplate it, in reference to his people, as only a branch of the administration of his grace—all its varying dispensations being arranged and adjusted by infinite wisdom for the one great end of most effectually subserving the purposes of mercy, in the preservation to full and final blessedness of all who are its favoured objects. And when the light of heaven shall come to be shed upon the procedure of God to his people on earth, they will see, with holy wonder and thankful ravishment, with what admirable and perfect skill the whole course of events has been adapted to this end; how the very smallest link awanting would have broken that chain of divine workmanship, which, though it may have occasionally galled them, has yet been drawing them to heaven. Even while we are here, subsequent dispensations do sometimes reveal the intention of others which preceded them, and which, at the time they happened, were wrapt in mystery. And, indeed, my friend, there is a necessity for a measure of obscurity in the divine procedure. It is when we "walk in darkness," that we are especially enjoined to "*trust* in the name of the Lord, and to stay ourselves upon our God." If all were as clear to us, as it is to Him who "seeth the end from the beginning," *trust* or *confidence* might be expunged from the list of Christian graces. I trust that the "Father of mercies and the God of all comfort" will impart to your excellent *widowed* relative, to yourselves, and to all the members and connections of the mourning family, that "strong consolation" which his bereaving providence has rendered necessary, and give you all to experience the faithfulness of his promise, "As thy day is, so shall thy strength be." There is *one* comfort—and it is the richest, and the sweetest of all—which, in the present instance, you possess in its full perfection: I mean, a "*sure and certain hope*" respecting your departed friend, that, "absent from the body" he is "at home with the Lord," and that that which is "sown in corruption, shall be raised in incorruption." His memory is embalmed in the blessings of surviving relatives, and of the church of God; and he himself is gone to receive, in all its fulness, the blessing of "Him in whom he believed." O how consoling and animating is this assurance. When the ties of nature are burst asunder, as sooner or later they must in all the relations of life, how delightful to know that there is a bond which the hand of death cannot sever—the bond that unites us as members of the family of God!—that the removal of a Christian friend is only his *going home* a little before us. The family connection is not broken up by a mere temporary local separation. We *are come* "to the spirits of just men made perfect." We are still one with them, as children of the same Father, through the

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same blessed Redeemer, and have the prospect of by and by following them home.

Such considerations and prospects as these will, I trust, "cause the widow's heart to sing for joy." They are fitted, like certain chemical tests, to *precipitate* the bitter in the cup of affliction, and to render it comparatively sweet. It is true indeed that when the ties of grace are superinduced upon those of nature, as the connection is rendered the stronger and the dearer, the pang of separation must in one sense be the more agonizing. But oh! how unlike the agony of parting with a friend whom we cannot follow with hope! When we can "look steadfastly up into heaven" after our departed friends, it is true that the thought of those Christian excellences that endeared their society on earth makes us feel the more keenly the "aching void" which their removal occasions. But this thought, while it wounds, it heals; while it embitters, it sweetens; while it grieves, it gladdens; it draws from the eye the tear of delight along with the tear of anguish. But I must forbear. I feel always, when I get on such subjects, a propensity to expatiate. Such views are at all times pleasing; and we never can tell how soon we may stand in special need of their supporting influence. Remember me *most affectionately and tenderly* to *Mrs. H.* as well as to your own loved partner and all the members of the family at Hatcham House. I feel myself on the spot. I see the affectionate family circle clad in those weeds of woe which so feebly express the feelings of their bereaved and afflicted hearts. I feel with them that tender melancholy that arises even from the cessation of all those little acts of conjugal and filial attention to the distressed, the assiduous performance of which contributed so much to endear them to my affections; and I participate in the mingled feelings with which the opening beauties of the vernal season must in such circumstances be contemplated.

I have filled my paper with one subject, and I hope you will not be displeased with me. What I have written is, I assure you, *cardiaphonice.*

We have no complaints amongst us that are worthy of particular mention. Church matters go on comfortably. The new chapel is *progressing.* We expect to enter it in November. I fear it will be rather too *fine*, and consequently may be thought too costly. I have got to a close without an apology for my long silence. I have been much occupied; besides all my ordinary engagements, having had nearly all my lectures to the students to *prepare* in succession as they were delivered. RALPH WARDLAW.

Whilst in London the preceding year Mr. Wardlaw had sat for his portrait to be engraved for the Evangelical Magazine. It made its appearance in the number for January 1819. If this portrait was anything of a likeness at the time it appeared, the original must have amazingly improved as he grew older.

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CHAPTER VII.

A. D. 1819.—A. D. 1824.

MR. WARDLAW'S reputation as a theologian and as a preacher was now such that his Alma Mater might have done herself credit, had she bestowed on him an appropriate mark of her approbation by conferring on him a theological degree. In the present day the University of Glasgow would not have overlooked the claims of so distinguished an alumnus; but in those days the spirit of ecclesiastical bigotry still predominated in the academic senate, and forbade any recognition to be taken of the claims of one who had had the audacity to dissent from the church as by law established, however eminent his talents and attainments, or however great his services to the common cause of Christianity. It was reserved, therefore, for a transatlantic college to do him the justice and itself the honour of conferring upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity. The body from which he received this distinction was Yale College, Connecticut—the college of which Timothy Dwight had been president, and the theological faculty in which has long sustained a high reputation. His diploma bears date 9th September 1818,* and is signed by Dr. Day the president, and Mr. Goodrich the secretary of the college.

His first publication after receiving this honour was a sermon which he had preached before the Stirlingshire Missionary Society. It is entitled, "The Truth, Nature and Universality of the Gospel: A Sermon preached at Stirling on Tuesday, June 29th, 1819, at the Anniversary Meeting of the Society for

* See Appendix G.

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Stirlingshire and its Vicinity, in aid of Missions and other Religious Objects." The text of this sermon is Luke xxiv. 45-47, especially the words with which this section closes, "beginning at Jerusalem." The charge thus given to the Apostles by Jesus Christ the preacher considers as affording evidence of the truth of the gospel—as furnishing an illustration of its nature—and as expressing the commencement of its universal diffusion. The sermon is one of great ability and permanent value. The argument under the first head is conducted with all the author's sagacity and logical skill; and the illustration of the second head contains some valuable observations of a theological kind on the nature of the gospel and the means of the salvation it announces.

After many delays and some threatening difficulties the new chapel was at length ready for use. It formed a large and handsome building with a Grecian front, and was capable of containing 1600 hearers. To some of the more rigid sort it appeared by much too gorgeous a place for the purpose for which it was designed; and one worthy person was even moved to indite a long epistle to the pastor for the purpose of opening his eyes to the sin and danger of spending so much money in erecting for Protestant worship a place that seemed to him so much on the model of a Popish chapel that he must needs designate the erection of it "a wondering after the beast!" There were some real defects connected with the place as a place of worship, and its cost was enormous; but few in the present day would think it too fine, and it is as far removed from the accredited style of "Catholic architecture" as it well can. It was opened on the 25th of December when the Rev. J. Fletcher of Blackburn preached.

Having entered on this new and enlarged sphere, Dr. Wardlaw (as we have now to designate him) devoted himself with all his energies to the duties it imposed. To these and to his academic duties, indeed, he would willingly have exclusively confined his efforts; but in the position he now occupied this was impossible. However irksome and disturbing it may be, part of the price which every man must pay for fame is the liability to be en-

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croached upon by frequent calls to the performance of duties from which less noticeable men are exempt. Of this Dr. Wardlaw had his full share, and his natural suavity and benevolence made him more readily yield to such solicitations than if he had possessed or acquired a more rigid habit. It is not always, however, that such calls are irksome or the duties they impose felt to be a task. Occasionally they are such as one would spontaneously engage in; and such doubtless Dr. Wardlaw felt the first call made upon him after the opening of his new chapel to be. This was to take part in the ordination of one of the students who had recently left the academy, the Rev. Archibald Jack,* over the congregational church assembling in Duke Street Chapel, Whitehaven. On this occasion Dr. Wardlaw asked the questions and gave the charge. His discourse along with the others was afterwards printed.† It is founded on Acts xx. 28, and is characterised by that wisdom, solemnity and tenderness which gave such peculiar value to Dr. Wardlaw's addresses on similar occasions.

The period at which we have now arrived is one which will long be remembered as a time of trouble and conflict, especially in the manufacturing districts of both England and Scotland. Popular discontent, excited by commercial embarrassments, and exasperated by the violent measures of government, had broken forth in various places in open revolt; and in the west of Scotland this feeling had widely spread and displayed itself in several alarming shapes. The position of a minister of the gospel amid a community in this state is not an easy one; if he sympathize with the masses he is apt to be branded as a demagogue, and if he take the side of the authorities he is in danger of losing influence with the masses, and being looked on as a time-server and a self-seeker. Dr. Wardlaw, from his early education, was strongly prejudiced to the side of government, and his most

* Now of North Shields.

† Discourses delivered at the Ordination of Mr. Archibald Jack, &c., including an Introductory Discourse by Mr. Ewing, Mr. Jack's profession, the Charge by Dr. Wardlaw, and the Sermon to the Church by Mr. Ewing. Edinburgh, 1820.

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serious convictions told him that, as a minister of Christianity, he must be the advocate of order and of submission to constituted authority. He accordingly preached a sermon from 1st Peter ii. 13-15, in which he enforced the Christian duty of submission to civil government. This sermon he immediately after published and inscribed to the Provost and Magistrates of Glasgow, "in testimony," as the inscription runs, "of the approbation which, in common with his fellow-citizens and the country at large, he strongly feels, and which he should deem it an omission of present duty to suppress, of that happy union of promptitude and vigour, with mildness and forbearance, which distinguished their official conduct during the recent alarms of the city and neighbourhood." The discourse contains a clear and discriminating statement of the duties enjoined in Scripture on subjects in relation to their rulers, and of the considerations by which these are enforced. The duties he points out are those of *respect*, *support*, *obedience* and *prayer*; and the considerations by which these are enforced are enumerated thus:—1. Civil government is an ordinance of God; and 2. Important advantages arise from it to mankind. The discourse concludes with some wise and weighty counsels addressed more particularly to the suffering classes of the community—counsels urged in the kindest spirit and enforced by the highest motives. There can be no doubt that the preaching and publishing of this discourse were of important service to the cause of order in that part of the country where it appeared, for it tended to withdraw from the ranks of the insubordinate those whose character and intelligence alone could give their cause weight. The magistrates and council showed their sense of its value by ordering a hundred copies to be sent for their disposal.

A week after preaching this sermon, Dr. Wardlaw was called to preach on behalf of the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews; and the sermon delivered on this occasion was also published. It is entitled "The purposes of Divine Mercy to the Seed of Abraham: A sermon preached in George Street Chapel, Glasgow, on the 25th April 1820," &c.

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The text is Romans xi. 30-31, and from this, in connection with the preceding and subsequent context, the preacher considers—1. The prospects held out to us respecting the seed of Abraham; 2. The grounds on which they rest; and 3. The means by which they are to be accomplished. The sermon is chiefly valuable for the exposition it furnishes of a somewhat difficult part of the apostolic writings. The author's views are moderate and scriptural; he anticipates the general conversion of the Jewish nation to God and their restoration to the blessings of salvation; he regards their restoration to their own land as a thing highly probable; and he argues that the bringing in of the fulness of the Gentiles is synchronous with the restoration of the Jews, and that these two events have a reciprocal influence in bringing about each other.

Towards the close of this year an incident occurred by which Dr. Wardlaw was betrayed into a brief but somewhat sharp controversy. The occasion was this:—Some persons connected with the Church of Scotland being desirous of erecting a place of worship in Oban as a Chapel of Ease to the parish church, circulated an "Address to the Religious Public," designed to call attention to the necessity which existed for the proposed erection. In this, instead of confining themselves to a statement of facts illustrative of the spiritual destitution of Oban, the authors chose to indulge in resolutions of an offensive nature, and most gratuitously, on the character and labours of the independent minister there, and even to throw out insinuations affecting his reputation as a man of truth and a minister of Christ. The party against whom these were directed was a man of singular worth, of unblemished character, of primitive simplicity and of devoted zeal for the promotion of the best interests of the people. The vile calumny of which he had been made the object justly excited indignation in the bosoms of all who knew him, and Dr. Wardlaw instantly stepped forward to throw the aegis of his strength over his injured brother, by publishing and circulating a paper entitled "An Appeal against Misrepresentation and Calumny," in the form of a letter to the Rev. David Carment. In this, assuming

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that Mr. Carment, who I understand was the minister of a Gaelic congregation in Glasgow, was the writer of the appeal complained of, he rebukes him with considerable severity, and sets forth in sufficiently plain language the falsehood, and Jesuitism, and meanness by which his attack on Mr. Campbell had been marked. This called forth a reply from Mr. Carment, in which after giving a letter professing to be from a committee of the inhabitants of Oban, in which an attempt is made to support the statements of the original appeal, and letters from two clergymen who had attested the truth of these statements and here repeat their attestation, Mr. Carment concludes by generously declaring that he will "not insult over a fallen foe," but will only demand that Dr. Wardlaw shall "retract what he has said," on pain of being "for ever degraded in the estimation of the wise and the good if he does not." To a publication of this kind it was absolutely necessary to reply, and that fully and minutely; for both Mr. Campbell's reputation and Dr. Wardlaw's were implicated by Mr. Carment's statements. Accordingly Dr. W. lost no time in issuing "A Second Appeal to the Public in answer to the Reply of a Committee of the Inhabitants of Oban," in which he refutes, point by point, all that had been advanced by that committee, and from evidence that cannot be set aside establishes to the full every one of his former positions. In the close Mr. Carment comes in for a little additional castigation, not unmerited by the arrogant tone he had assumed over his opponent; and the author concludes by expressing his trust that he has made it appear that "'the cock's shrill clarion' which had echoed so cheerily had been sounded somewhat prematurely, and that the fallen foe over whom his courtly opponent generously declined to insult had sustained but imaginary wounds, and that he might indulge some slender hope, though he had not followed Mr. Carment's prescription, that his character might yet survive and happily escape the doom of being for ever degraded in the estimation of the wise and the good." Altogether this second appeal is one of the smartest and sharpest things its author ever wrote, and probably the tempestuous Gael who had called it forth thought that it

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would have been wiser for him to have repressed his zeal than to have stirred up such an antagonist. He attempted no reply, and it must be confessed that after assuming so loftily "the port of the Miles Gloriosus," he crept out of the affair somewhat ingloriously.

The Eclectic Review having about this time passed into the hands and under the editorial management of Mr. Josiah Conder, a gentleman to whose indefatigable industry, enlightened judgment, sound taste and comprehensive intelligence the readers of that journal and the cause of nonconformity in general are deeply indebted, Dr. Wardlaw was repeatedly urged by him to contribute to its pages in the theological department. In this application, however, Mr. Conder never was fortunate enough to succeed—Dr. Wardlaw's manifold engagements and a certain diffidence in his own fitness for such work being pleaded by him as his excuse for declining. The truth is, I believe, that he had a positive dislike to the kind of mental activity required for the task of reviewing books. I once urged him at a later period of his life to write, for a journal in which I was interested, something in the review department; but he at once declined, saying, "Reviewing is out of my line altogether, I should feel quite at a loss how to set about it, I have not the trick of the thing; and besides were I to undertake to review a book I should feel bound to sit down and carefully read it first, and I can conceive of nothing more irksome than to be tied to read a book you are not otherwise inclined to read, merely for the sake of reviewing it." Dr. Wardlaw though always a hard student was by no means a "helluo librorum," and very reasonably held that in regard to most books it was a great mercy to be allowed to get on without reading them. He would have subscribed heartily I believe to the opinion of Seneca, who exclaims, "Quo mihi innumerabiles libros et bibliothecas? onerat discentem turba non instruit; multoque satius est paucis te auctoribus tradere quam errare per multos."—De Tranquil. *c. g.*

The year 1821 was one marked by several events of importance in Dr. Wardlaw's history. The first of these was the

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death of his venerable and much-loved father, which took place on the morning of Sunday the 20th of May, in the eightieth year of his age. On the evening of the same day his son announced the event to an old and valued friend of the deceased, the Rev. J. Macfarlane of Dunfermline, in the following letter:—

Glasgow, May 20th, 1821.

Ah! my dear Sir, little did you expect the reply which I now sit down to make to your very friendly letter received by me yesterday, conveying the distressing intelligence of the removal to the world of spirits of your late excellent colleague.* You requested me to communicate the painful tidings to the circle of my friends here, and especially to my loved and revered father. He, my dear Sir, was then upon his own death-bed, and is since gone to join his old friend among "the spirits of the just made perfect." He had been for some months evidently losing ground, and feeling a more rapid encroachment than before of the infirmities of age, so that "the grasshopper was becoming a burden." But he became seriously worse yesterday se'ennight with sickness, oppressed breathing, and a general giving way of the energies of nature. And after enduring a greater degree of suffering than it could well have been supposed his enfeebled constitution was capable of bearing, especially during yesterday and last night, he fell asleep in Jesus a few minutes before five this morning, and entered on the everlasting Sabbath of the upper sanctuary. Many a time had he hailed with delight the return of that

"Blest morning, whose first dawning ray
Beheld the Son of God
Arise triumphant from the grave,
And leave his dark abode."

And now he has gone to celebrate its triumphs in strains of higher elevation and purer delight than he could ever raise on earth. Thus, of the bonds that attach us to the world, "string after string is severed from the heart," and oh, my friend, is it not then—when called to close in death the eyes of those who were near and dear to us in life, that we feel the inestimable preciousness, both in *their* behalf, and in our own, of the hope of the gospel? —that blessed gospel which hath "brought life and incorruption to light."

I cannot enlarge, especially as I am writing with much uneasiness in my eyes. You seek an interest in *my* prayers. You see, my dear friend, how much I and my dear relatives here need an interest in *yours*. Yet have we abundant reason "not to sorrow as those who have no hope." Long had he "walked with God;" and now he is not, for God hath taken him. God was with *him* on earth, and he is gone to be with God in heaven; changing his *place*, but not his *company*.

My brother Mr. R. Smith will convey this to you, and will give you more particular information. The day of interment will be Friday. But your prospect for next Lord's-Day will hardly allow us to hope for your presence with us on the mournful occasion.

* Rev. Dr. Husband.

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Assure of our sympathy and fellow-feeling all connected with your worthy colleague and yourself.—Believe me, &c. RALPH WARDLAW.

Mrs. W. unites in the kindest remembrances.

On the Sunday after the funeral Dr. Wardlaw improved the event by preaching to his congregation from Genesis xlix. 29-31. This sermon was afterwards printed at the close of a work the author was then carrying through the press, and of which some account will be given presently. From the sketch which he gives of his father's character the following are extracts:—

After speaking of his enlightened, evangelical, warm-hearted piety, the preacher says—

With this humble and heartfelt piety as the element in which all the other parts of his character were steeped and imbued, he was endeared to his friends and kindred by the singularly tender and unremitting exercise of all the domestic affections, which rendered him the centre of attraction and union to a wide circle of loved and loving relatives—a circle which he cheered by his natural buoyancy, vivacity and playfulness of temper, and instructed by his edifying and enlivening converse. His religion did not quench the light of cheerfulness; and his cheerfulness was at an equal remove from gloom and from levity. He retained his characteristic pleasantry even to the last. He was esteemed by the church and people of Christ as an aged pilgrim, who had long "walked with God," and exemplified the power of godliness—one who prayed for the peace of Jerusalem; who delighted in unity; who was "a lover of good men," and who breathed from his very soul the prayer of the Apostle—"Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity!" And he was respected and commended by the world at large for the exemplary consistency of his profession and conduct, which gave him a testimony in their consciences, such as they could not gainsay nor resist. Both in public and private concerns, in the duties of the magistracy and the businesses of ordinary life, he evinced a sound and enlightened judgment, in maturity of investigation and rectitude of decision. He cultivated a taste for classical literature, which was more than a useless ornament; it was of essential benefit in the education of his family; and his acquaintance especially with the original language of the New Testament afforded him many an hour of rich and sacred pleasure. He was distinguished, in an uncommon degree, by the most unvarying temperate regularity of living; by scrupulous punctuality to all engagements; by the most unbending integrity; by a conscientious eagerness of desire to make every trust productive, under his management, of labour to himself and of benefit to others; by a union of kindly affability with dignified propriety of demeanour; by steadiness to old attachments, and a religious regard to the precept "thine own friend and thy father's friend forsake not;" by a benevolent liberality of heart, which hardly knew how to resist the petitions of charity and the claims of the cause of God, and which *to* his power, and *beyond* his power,

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was willing to answer both; and by a warm attachment to the government of his country. At times, indeed, on this subject, and occasionally too on some others, there was evinced a degree of impatient quickness of temper; but it was generally of such a kind as to excite a smile at the good old man's zeal, rather than to stir in the bosom the slightest return of unpleasant feelings. "Whatsoever things were true, and just, and honourable, and pure, and lovely, and of good report—these things he thought of," and ever prayed for grace to practise. Whatever his partial friends might think of him, he was himself of the "poor in spirit." His devotional exercises, characterised by correctness, simplicity and tenderness, breathed the spirit of conscious unworthiness, and all the lowliness of a broken and contrite heart. When it was said to him, during his last illness, "You have long been walking with God, Sir," he replied, "I have long been a *professor* at least of the blessed name of Jesus;" and he shrunk with deep inward emotion from the thought of his own deficiencies.

The life of this good man had been spent in a cheerful and charitable religiousness, and his end was in keeping with such a life, peaceful, serene and happy.

Sensible that his end was approaching, not a word escaped him, nor a symptom appeared, that indicated a fear of dying; nor amidst severe bodily suffering the slightest expression of murmuring or impatience. On the contrary, when within a few hours of his departure he repeated the words—"He who testifieth these things, saith, Surely I come quickly: Amen. Even so, come Lord Jesus!"—"that is," he added, "come quickly." But this must not be understood as the language of impatience—come *instantly*—come *now*, because it is *my* time. No, I would say, Come, Lord Jesus, come in thine own good time, in thine own way, and by thine own appointed means: for these are always best. "*Even so* come, Lord Jesus!"—On the day before his death, when set up in bed for temporary ease, he all at once, to the delighted surprise of those of us who were by his bed-side, began to sing, with a soft and plaintive sweetness, in his circumstances irresistibly melting—

"Where high the heav'nly temple stands,
The house of God not made with hands,
A great High Priest our nature wears,
The guardian of mankind appears."

and sung out the first four stanzas;—afterwards repeating, like one exhausted, the remaining two. My ear can never lose that sound;—my heart can never lose the sweetly solemn impression. Such too was his collectedness, that he made particular inquiries about various individuals of his friends, and circumstances connected with them, such as we wondered he should think of; wished every thing to go on in the usual way; and when it came to the hour of evening family prayer, insisted on all being called in by the ordinary summons; when he sung a hymn, and heard a short portion of the word of God, and prayer offered up by his bed-side.

An anecdote has been preserved relating to the closing hours

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of this excellent man which, as the authority on which it came to me is unimpeachable,* I will here record as characteristic of the man. Being visited by some Christian friends during his confinement, he discoursed to them in his usual cheerful and pleasant way, and spoke with humble but unfaltering confidence of his hopes for eternity founded on the Saviour's merits. One of the party, whose views of divine truth were of a kind which led him not only to indulge in gloomy feelings and anxious forebodings, but even to attach to these a certain religious worth, was somewhat scandalised by the brightness which seemed diffused over the soul of the dying saint, and he could not refrain from endeavouring to recal him to what he considered a more befitting state of mind. "Oh! Mr. Wardlaw," he said, "does it beseem us to pass through the dark valley without a struggle? Remember how it fared with our Master: was not his soul troubled within him, and was not he sorrowful even unto death?" "Aye," exclaimed the dying saint, rising on his couch, "it was even so; and oh! man, it is that very trouble and that very sorrow that make me go so lightly through the valley this day; *surely He hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows.*" There is something in this akin to the faith of the Apostle when he exclaimed, "I know whom I have believed and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day." This calm serene reliance in the prospect of death rises to the sublime of piety.

Dr. Wardlaw's funeral sermon for his father was printed at the close of a work, to the preparation of which for the press the spring and summer of 1821 were principally devoted, viz., his Lectures on Ecclesiastes. It has been already mentioned that several years previous to this the author had gone through this book in a series of expository pulpit discourses, and that his selection of such a subject had been determined by the unsettled and calamitous state of the times. The same reason induced him after a lapse of more than ten years to issue his lectures from the press. Having however more than complied with the

* My informant was the late James Ogilvy, Esq.

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counsel of Horace,* he found after keeping his MS. by him so long that he could not issue it in its original form, but must entirely recompose his lectures. To this task he accordingly addressed himself, and the work appeared in two 8vo volumes in the autumn of 1821.

The work thus prepared is one of great value. It furnishes a model of that form of pulpit instruction to which it belongs—a form which happily is greatly esteemed in Scotland, and the utility of which experience has amply testified. As an exposition of the portion of Scripture to which it is devoted it is characterised by much perspicuity, acuteness and sagacity; and if there is little of a philological kind in it, which the nature of the work as consisting of popular discourses necessarily precluded, there is abundant evidence that the author had made use of the best grammatical and exegetical helps in making up his mind as to the meaning of his author. Many passages of great force and beauty are scattered through the work, and perhaps to none of its author's printed works would his friends refer for an illustration of his best pulpit performances more readily than to this. Its chief value, however, is derived from its practical character. The just views of life which it sets forth—removed alike from worldliness on the one hand and asceticism on the other; the wise observations and sagacious reflections on men and things with which it is filled; the knowledge of men's nature and ways it exhibits; the kind and genial, yet pure and lofty spirit with which it is pervaded; and the tone of unaffected, manly, and enlightened piety that adorns the whole, conspire to confer upon the work a character which will render it valuable for all times as well as for such as those it was originally designed to suit.

After finishing his labours at the press with this work Dr. Wardlaw visited London as one of a deputation to solicit aid to the funds of the Congregational Union of Scotland; his companions being the late excellent John Hercus of Greenock and

* Si quid tamen olim
Scripseris . . . . nonumque prematur in annum
Membranis intus positis.

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the late zealous and devoted Alexander Dewar of Avoch. The deputation was well received in London and its vicinity, from which they returned with upwards of £800, a generous and most seasonable bounty from the strong to the weak.

Soon after his return from the south, he was called to experience a peculiar trial, in the death under his roof of a singularly talented and amiable youth, the only son of the Rev. T. Durant of Poole, of whose early acquaintance with Dr. Wardlaw at Dundee mention has been already made in this Memoir. This young man had already passed through three brilliant sessions at the Glasgow University, during which he had resided as a boarder under Dr. Wardlaw's roof; and whilst his unusual abilities made him the pride of the college, his amiable temper and the charm of his society had rendered him not less an object of affectionate regard in the domestic circle. After spending the summer vacation at Poole, he had returned in November 1821 to Glasgow for his closing session, and had been joyfully welcomed to his former place in Dr. Wardlaw's household. Hardly, however, had he resumed his studies at college when he was seized with a severe illness, which, in spite of all the skill and attention of the ablest physicians and the kindest friends, terminated in suffusion on the brain, accompanied with paralysis of the right side of the body, of which he died on the evening of the 27th of November. Mourned by many was this fine youth, thus prematurely cut down; by none, beyond the circle of his immediate relatives, more than by Dr. Wardlaw and his family. A deep sensation was produced also at the university, both among professors and students by the tidings; and as the occasion seemed a favourable one for impressing on the minds of the young, especially such as were engaged in similar pursuits with those in which he had so lately stood pre-eminent, the interests of their souls, Dr. Wardlaw determined to seize the opportunity, both of giving vent to his own feelings of admiration, affection, and respect, and of seeking to make the mournful event a source of spiritual benefit to survivors by preaching a funeral sermon for the deceased. An immense crowd assembled on the occa-

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sion, composed largely of students from the university, and including not a few of the Professors. The preacher's address rose to the level of the occasion, and was listened to with profound attention and emotion. Selecting for his text the words of Job (chap. xiv. 19), "And thou destroyest the hope of man," he spoke to his audience of God, the supreme disposer of all events, as destroying the hope of man, when he permits the stroke of death to fall upon him, extinguishing his life, and dissipating like a shadow all the schemes and projects that hung suspended on that life. He then passed at once to the illustration of his text furnished by the event which had occasioned that evening's service, and in graceful and discriminating words, but with a voice that often faltered with emotion, he sketched the character of the youth who had been so unexpectedly snatched from among his admiring comrades and affectionate friends; dwelling upon his extraordinary powers of intellectual acquisition and performance, his singularly gentle and sweet temper, his industry and conscientiousness as a student, and finally, the evidence he gave of genuine and deep-rooted piety. And having brought his hearers to this point, he closed by a series of solemn, pointed and touching reflections and appeals suggested by the sudden destruction of all the hopes which such a brilliant commencement of the career of life was calculated to excite. Most eloquent and striking are the concluding paragraphs of this discourse, and not a few we may believe of the fine youths who that evening crowded around the preacher, caught from his words impressions and impulses that have exerted a salutary influence on their after life. What estimate they themselves formed of it may be conjectured from the following requisition, which was presented to Dr. Wardlaw a few days after the delivery of his discourse :—

Glasgow, Dec. 13th, 1821.

Reverend Sir—We, the undersigned, the fellow-students of the late much regretted Mr. William Friend Durant, hope not to be guilty of intrusion when we unitedly request that you will be so obliging as to gratify his friends with the publication of the excellent discourse which you preached on the mournful occasion.

It would not only insure a lasting monument to the memory of our

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departed companion, but also, as from its valuable properties it is calculated to be, we fain hope would prove useful to survivors.

Returning you our sincere thanks for the favour already conferred by its delivery, and earnestly soliciting your kind acquiescence—We remain, &c.

To the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw.

Then follow the signatures of eighty-three of Mr. Durant's class-fellows, some of whom, it is interesting to observe, are now men of whom the world has note as eminent in their respective professions. With this request, enforced as it was by the earnest solicitations of the bereaved parent, called thus affectingly to mourn the loss of the last and the brightest of his household treasures, Dr. Wardlaw did not hesitate to comply, and the sermon was accordingly published forthwith. It appeared with the title, "The Vanity of the Earthly Hopes of Man: A Sermon, preached in George Street Chapel, Glasgow, on Lord's-Day Evening, December 9th, on occasion of the Death of Mr. William Friend Durant of Poole, Dorsetshire, Student in the University of Glasgow," &c., and bears the following dedication: "To the Reverend Thomas Durant, with sentiments of high regard and of the deepest condolence; and to the Professors and Students of the University of Glasgow, with earnest wishes that, under the enlightened tuition of the former, the latter may be led to emulate the intellectual attainments, and to imitate the religious and moral excellences of their lamented friend and companion; the following Discourse is respectfully inscribed by the Author."*

Of the years 1822, 1823, and 1824, little remains to be recorded in the narrative of Dr. Wardlaw's life. Besides his ordinary duties, his extending reputation entailed upon him a vast amount of correspondence, and though in one sense he was not a very good correspondent, inasmuch as he was apt to delay his reply, yet, as when he did write he usually wrote fully, the amount of time which, during the period of his life subsequent to this date he devoted to this duty, must have been very great. As senior secretary of the Glasgow Auxiliary to the British and

* A Memoir of Mr. W. F. Durant was compiled by his father, and published in 2 vols. 12mo. It is a work well deserving the perusal of all students.

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Foreign Bible Society, much of his time was occupied at the period now under notice by the correspondence and conferences rendered necessary by a lawsuit which the Bible Societies had at this time to carry on against the King's printers, who were desirous of guarding their monopoly by the exclusion from Scotland of all Bibles but such as issued from their own press. He had also some trouble imposed on him in connection with the formation throughout the country of Auxiliary and Branch Bible Societies. His services in both these matters were such as to call forth from the parent society a formal acknowledgment in the following terms:—

Feb. 23d, 1824.

At a Meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society—

"Resolved, That a letter be addressed to the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, Secretary of the Glasgow Auxiliary Society, expressive of the satisfaction felt by this Committee at the successful adoption of systematic principles in the formation of a Ladies' Branch and affiliated Associations; also conveying the cordial thanks of this Committee to Dr. Wardlaw for his prompt and assiduous attention in communicating the proceedings respecting the injunction obtained by the King's Printers in Scotland."

Extracted from the Minutes.

Josh. Tarn, Asst. Secy.

In addition to his ordinary public labours Dr. Wardlaw had for many years been in the habit of devoting a portion of time to the instruction of the younger members of his congregation in biblical and theological knowledge. He had two classes for this purpose; one for young men, another for young women, which met to hear a lecture once a month. In order to show their sense of the advantage they derived from these labours of their pastor, the members of these classes determined on presenting him each with some appropriate gift. The first of these was made by the young men, and consisted of a pair of gold spectacles—symptom, alas! that "those that look out at the windows" were beginning to be somewhat prematurely "darkened;" and this was followed by a present of a copy of Horne's Introduction and of Jebb's Sacred Literature from the members of the female class. Each of these was accompanied by a letter, expressing in the strongest terms the respect, gratitude and affection with which the donors regarded their pastor. A third present followed,

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consisting of a handsomely bound family bible from the young men connected with the church; this was accompanied with an affectionate letter written in the name of the donors by Mr. Ebenezer Henry, one of their number, to which Dr. Wardlaw sent the following reply :—

Regent Street, April 12th, 1823.

My dear young Friend—I duly received the very handsome present transmitted by you in name of the young men of the church under my pastoral care, and accompanied with the written assurances of their affectionate and grateful regards. Such assurances would themselves have been highly gratifying to my feelings, and would have met with a willing and implicit credit, though unattended by so substantial a testimony of their heartfelt sincerity. The present, however, which came along with them as their *voucher*, gave them a weight and emphasis, which have left on my mind an impression that can never be effaced. Costly, and eminently tasteful in its rich and elegant exterior, it possesses at the same time, as the Word of God, an intrinsic preciousness beyond the powers of human computation; and along with this also, an adventitious value of the very highest order, as the *gift of love*, not from *one* only, but from *many* dear objects of my affectionate solicitude.

I may say, without "feigned lips," that in receiving it I felt humbled by the consciousness of having done so little to deserve such a token of attachment on the part of the youth of my flock. Yet was I at the same time cheered, delighted, and animated by the expressions of that attachment, and of their fervent wishes and prayers for my personal and official comfort and prosperity. May the Lord enable me in time to come to repay their kindness by increased fidelity and diligence in the advancement of their best and highest, their spiritual and everlasting interests; "watching for their souls as one who must give account;" that for their sakes as well as for my own, I may give it "with joy and not with grief."

My best wishes and prayers attend you all, my beloved young friends and brethren, in everything that concerns you. May all that *the Bible* reveals as the portion of God's children be yours. May you be enriched with all the blessings and adorned with all the graces of the Holy Spirit, preserved from all the temptations to which youth is peculiarly exposed, spared to honour your Saviour during a long, useful, and happy life, and at last received to his presence, where there is fulness of joy and pleasures for evermore! And may it be mine to see your steady progress heavenward, and to "rejoice in the day of Christ, that I have not run in vain, neither laboured in vain."

There is but one point, respecting which I shall be glad to receive more explicit information, as I am anxious to act in exact conformity to the intentions of the kind donors. Will you, my dear young brother, have the goodness to inform me, whether their valued gift was designed by them for *private* or for *public* use?

Convey these expressions of my affectionate and thankful regard to all concerned.—Believe me, &c. RALPH WARDLAW.

The point on which Dr. Wardlaw says here he wanted infor-

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mation was settled by a prompt reply, assuring him that the gift was meant for *private* use, and expressing the hope that it might be the means of putting him in mind of the earnest desires for his continued welfare and usefulness of the youthful members of his flock.*

In the spring of 1823 a volume of sermons was published by ministers of the Congregational Union of Scotland in aid of the benevolent fund for the relief of the widows and children of the ministers connected with that body. To this volume Dr. Wardlaw contributed a sermon on Love to Christ, from Luke xiv. 25, 26. The sermon is a very valuable one, full of scriptural doctrine lucidly set forth, and made to bear with a close practical urgency on the sentiments and interests of different classes of religionists.

In May 1823 Dr. Wardlaw preached a sermon for the Home Missionary Society in Craven Chapel, London, which at the request of the directors was published. It is entitled, "The Early Success of the Gospel an Evidence of its Truth and an Encouragement to Zeal for its universal Diffusion." The text is 1 Cor. i. 26-29. It is an unusually long discourse, which must have taken at least an hour and a half in the delivery; yet I will venture to say no intelligent listener felt any wish that it had been shorter. The author keeps close to his text throughout, and furnishes a very admirable exposition and illustration of the words of the Apostle. His divisions are, 1, The facts stated—"not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called;" 2, The design of God in this arrangement—"that no flesh should glory in his presence;" 3, The argument arising from the facts in the text in support of

* Whilst recording these presents which Dr. Wardlaw received from members of his flock, it may not be amiss to mention another present which he received somewhere about the same time, with the following inscription:—"To the Reverend Dr. Wardlaw, as an affectionate testimonial of his having been the instrument through whom the undersigned was brought to the knowledge of the blessed and glorious gospel of Christ. James Thomson." The present was a copy of Boothroyd's Bible; and the donor was the late Rev. Dr. Thomson, for many years the Agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society in South America and Spain—one of the best of men.

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the truth of the gospel. The discourse concludes with some judicious observations on the value of human learning to ministers and missionaries of the gospel now, and an eloquent pleading for missionary effort both at home and abroad. "This discourse," says the reviewer of it in the Evangelical Magazine, "we cannot but regard as one of peculiar value. It abounds in enlightened and judicious criticism, sound reasoning, scriptural discussion and considerable originality of remark and illustration."

Besides several pulpit appearances Dr. Wardlaw took part at the annual meetings of several of the religious societies in the metropolis, especially those of the London Missionary Society and the Hibernian Society, at both of which he had leading motions.

He was again in London at the May meetings in the following year, and took part in the annual meeting of the London Missionary Society, where he seconded a motion moved by the Hon. and Rev. Baptiste Noel expressive of the feelings of the friends of truth and righteousness in reference to the atrocious proceedings of the magistrates and government of Demerara towards Mr. Smith, one of the society's missionaries. This was a case to awaken all Dr. Wardlaw's sympathies, and to call forth his most energetic efforts; but his predecessor had so fully, and so forcibly, and so eloquently presented it to the meeting that he contented himself with very briefly expressing his concurrence with what Mr. Noel had said, and his warm approbation of the measures the society had adopted in reference to the matter. The only other occasion in which he appeared publicly during this visit to the metropolis was at Great Queen Street Chapel, where he preached one of the annual sermons for the Continental Society; the other being preached at St. Clement Dane's, Strand, by the Rev. Hugh M'Neile.

Dr. Wardlaw took occasion whilst in the south this year to pay some visits to several esteemed friends, especially to Mr. Durant at Poole, and to the Rev. D. S. Wayland, a clergyman of the Church of England at Bassingham in Nottinghamshire. With this latter gentleman he had formed an epistolary acquaintance, arising out of a letter which Mr. Wayland had written to

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him after hearing him preach one evening in his own chapel in Glasgow—a letter overflowing with kindly and godly feeling, and which called forth from him the following reply:—

Innerkip, August 19th, 1823.

Rev. and dear Sir—Had circumstances admitted of my fulfilling my inclination, I should have replied to your very interesting letter at the moment of receiving it, which was early in last week. This, however, was put out of my power by the necessity of leaving home next morning; and I have been mostly from home since. Yesterday I brought Mrs. W. down to this place, whither our family have recently come for sea-bathing; and I seize the earliest opportunity which its privacy affords me of writing a few lines to one, whom, I trust, though unknown, I may address as my friend and brother.

Your letter drew to my eyes the tears of affection to yourself, and of gratitude to heaven—gratitude, I trust, sincere and humble—though, knowing the deceitfulness of my heart, I dare not venture to say unmingled with an alloy of baser ingredients. There are few things, indeed, more humbling than to be made the instrument of spiritual good; few things that are more fitted to overwhelm the spirit with a feeling of conscious unworthiness, or to awaken an apprehensive self-jealousy lest we should forget the apostolic maxim, "Neither is he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth," and should be tempted to take the credit in any measure to ourselves;—instead of ascribing the effect to what *God* has said, and to the influence of his Spirit attending it, to impute it to what *we* have said, and to our manner of saying it. O for a deeper, a more constant and practical conviction, that "the excellency of the power is of God!" Yet while I desire to be humbled, it would be as contrary to the principles of grace as to the feelings of nature, not to be gratified. The term is too feeble. No word short of *delight* should describe the emotion with which we learn that any genuine spiritual impression has been made in any heart by our ministry. And surely, if there be any occasion on which that delight should be peculiarly intense, it must be when such impression has been produced in a heart, "out of the abundance of which" others are to be instructed, warned, persuaded, and edified—when a flame has been kindled *there*, not indeed of *new*, but of *warmer* love to Christ and to the souls of men, of more ardent zeal for the glory of the one and for the salvation of the other. If, my dear sir, by means of anything I was led to say on the occasion that led you to write, the Spirit of God has been graciously pleased thus to affect *your* heart, I desire humbly and fervently to praise Him for it, and at the same time to pray, not only that it may prove a "token for good" to all who wait upon your ministry, but that, by a reaction upon myself, it may stir up to new life and activity the same feelings in my own soul, and thus contribute also to the benefit of my church and congregation, and so to the glory of our common Lord! Most cordially do I subscribe to the sentiments contained in the short preface to your first volume, respecting the ends which, as ministers of Christ, we should have in view, and with the attainment of which, and of which alone, we ought to be satisfied. But alas! my dear sir, you have formed a very erroneous estimate, (would it were otherwise!) of the spiritual character of him whom you so kindly address. I do not call it flattery on your part; for I believe

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you to be sincere: you "meant not so, neither did your heart think so." But it is so notwithstanding. And there is nothing, you are well aware, that makes one blush more deeply, than commendation which conscience tells us is undeserved. O how feeble, how languid, how fluctuating and inconstant are those principles, which you, in your ignorance and charity, fancy to be in fervent, habitual and predominant operation! The Searcher of Hearts knows that I speak the plain truth, and not the language of a feigned and proud humility. If you give any *grains of allowance* to the terms I have used, you will in exact proportion as you do so deduct from their accuracy. O for a deeper impression of the inestimable worth of immortal souls! I forget which of the fathers it is of whom it is recorded that he was wont to say, he never could read those words of Paul *without trembling:* "I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men; for I have not shunned to declare unto you the whole counsel of God!" And well *may* we tremble when we reflect that eternity hangs, as it were, upon every word we utter; that our declaration of what is false, or our failure to declare what is true, may affect the everlasting destinies of our hearers! May you and I, my dear sir, have grace to be faithful, and may the Master whom we serve honour us with that success which shall prove our encouragement to additional diligence and unwearied perseverance in seeking, "not our own profit, but the profit of many that they may be saved." Let us see to it that what we preach be *the apostolic gospel;* and in preaching it let us imitate the "ambassadors of Christ," who *prayed* and *besought* men with tears. "*Drawing with the cords of love*" is God's way. It is the best. Let it be ours.

We are thus, my dear *friend*, mutually introduced to each other. We *may never* meet on earth; and yet we *may* too. Should I be in the south, I shall go a good many miles out of my way to see you; and should you revisit the north, it will give me most sincere pleasure to receive you under my roof. I go up to Glasgow on Friday, and shall be weekly going and coming between it and this place for nearly two months. Your volumes I shall peruse immediately; and I anticipate both pleasure and benefit from them. If in any point of importance we should be found to differ, I trust our simple aim will ever be to ascertain *what is truth*. I hope I shall never be so perverse as not to count that man my friend who removes error from my mind, and substitutes truth. I am surely a gainer by the exchange.

Mrs. W. unites in best wishes to my unknown correspondent, from whom I shall be most happy to hear again, and to hear *soon*.—Believe me, &c.

RALPH WARDLAW.

Dr. Wardlaw was accompanied on his return from Poole by his eldest daughter who had been there for some time before on a visit to Mr. Durant. When in London they resided at Clapham with an old and valued friend, Robert Dewar, Esq., of Lloyd's. To this friend he wrote after his return a letter from which the following is an extract:—

Innerkip, *alias* Auldkirk, July 27th, 1824.

My very dear Friend—I would fain have got a frank before coming down here yesterday, to enable me to write at the same time to my esteemed friend Mr. Gorham, and Marianne to accomplish her wish to inclose a few

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lines to your dear Sarah, but I knew not how to obtain it. I must therefore forego the pleasure in the meantime of writing to others. I too would have fulfilled my promise to Sarah and to James, and put you, moreover, to the expense of a postage.

Your *premiums of insurance* at Lloyd's are of course regulated in their amount by the degree of risk to which the insured property is exposed. May I assure you, that were you called to insure *my friendship* (on which I know well you set more value than it is worth), you might venture it at a *very low* premium. The risk is very small. You need not feel, when a little delay takes place, as you do when a vessel is much beyond her calculated time of coming into port. Keep your mind easy; here she comes in full sail, hands and cargo all safe. Give her three cheers, and never distrust her again. She is a sound vessel, and if sometimes a little *slow*, warranted *safe*.

It has given me sincere concern to hear that your health has not, since we had the pleasure of meeting and the pain of parting, been gaining ground. You have had much occupation of mind, and that not of the pleasantest description; and we all know what a foe *anxiety* is to bodily soundness and vigour. I trust, my dear friend, your apprehensions will turn out, if not entirely groundless, yet more serious than the occasion will be found to justify. I was truly happy to learn from Mr. D. that such is the opinion of your excellent friend Macaulay—who being, I presume, *neutral* in regard to interest in the result, as well as a man of very sound judgment—a capital Scotch head, seems in every respect well qualified to form a correct estimate of probable consequences. But at all events, do not forget the duty and the privilege of "casting all your cares on Him who careth for you." How admirably are our duty and our interest associated in the divine precepts! and in no one of them is this more delightfully the case than in the injunction "not to be anxious about to-morrow," "in every thing, by prayer and supplication, with thanksgiving, to make our requests known unto God." Avail yourself, my friend, of this kind and condescending encouragement, and "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your heart and mind by Christ Jesus." It is said of Martin Luther, that in times of difficulty and perplexity, when the sky was lowering, and the prospects dark, he used to sit down and sing, by himself or with his friends, the 46th Psalm, "God is our refuge and our strength," &c. Imitate his example when you feel your mind unhinged. It is an excellent specific. It will cheer the spirit, and that will contribute to the favourable effect of other means of corporeal convalescence. These it is right to use, looking upward for a blessing; and, next to Martin Luther's Psalm, I would recommend a trip to Scotland. Come and see us in this our nice summer retreat. Your house is painting; take the opportunity, if business will at all permit, and bring with you all that can come.

My own health is good; I only want grace to improve it better while I have it. Mrs. W. and all the young folks are tolerably well. Your "*little bodee*," dear Marianne, rather suffered by the journey down, and had two or three weeks a smart attack of influenza, with a good deal of fever, which left her much debilitated. She is only yet coming round to her strength. You would know a great difference upon her still from what she was in the hospitable mansion of Larkhall Lane. I am a perfect *ignoramus* on the subject of family connections. Any inquiries in regard to

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that of Sir R. K. Inglis, I am sure my brother Walter will not leave uninvestigated, at least, if transmitted to him. Will you present my very respectful regards to Sir Robert.

The weather here has been, and is remarkably fine. But I have been of late, from various Bible Society, and other engagements, more in town than with my family. I hope to be more down with them henceforward. We have been endeavouring to get Bible associations formed in various parts of the west of Scotland, but have suffered various disappointments. I had a number of other topics to touch upon, but must leave them till a future time.—Your cordial friend, RALPH WARDLAW.

Amidst these manifold engagements Dr. Wardlaw still retained his allegiance to the Literary and Commercial Society, whose meetings he faithfully attended, and before which he continued to read occasional papers down to the year 1824. Subsequently to the paper last noticed he read the following:—On the 29th of April 1819 one entitled "Some Observations on the Thinking Principle in Brutes;" on the 14th of February 1822 one "on Divorce," being the third on this subject he had laid before the Society; and on the 22d of July 1824 one "on Duelling."

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CHAPTER VIII.

A. D. 1824—A. D. 1829.

SINCE the last insertion of any notice respecting Dr. Wardlaw's family three successive additions had been made to it, viz., a daughter born 25th September 1817, another daughter born 14th February 1821, and a third born 24th July 1823.

Dr. Wardlaw's family was now complete. In all, the number of his children was eleven. Of these nine were spared to grow to manhood and womanhood, and two were taken in infancy—taken, as he rejoiced confidently to believe, to the glorious and blessed presence of Christ as part of his "purchased possession," to be for ever with Him.

It may be convenient at this stage to pause in our narrative of Dr. Wardlaw's public life and to turn for a little to contemplate him in the domestic circle. As the scenes of his subsequent history become more crowded with incidents of public interest, we may not have so favourable an opportunity of presenting to the reader this essential phase of his character.

Dr. Wardlaw was eminently fitted to grace and to delight the family scene. In him the domestic affections were very strongly developed. Naturally affectionate and home-loving, the kindly influences amid which his own early life had been spent tended to deepen and strengthen his fondness for fireside association, festivities, and occupations. When, accordingly, he himself became a husband and a father, it was from no mere frigid sense of duty that he devoted himself to his household; his heart was with his wife and his children, and he found the serenest of his earthly enjoyments in their society. No fire burned so brightly in his estimation as that which shed its warmth around his own hearth; no voices sounded so sweet in his ears as those of the little

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prattlers who welcomed him to his wonted seat at his own board. Without there was stir, there was excitement, there was applause, there was, it may be, flattery; but what were these to the charm of home and to the interchange of domestic affection? And as he delighted in his home, so was he found to be the delight of all who there were gathered around him. The sweetness of his temper, the cheerfulness of his manners, the sympathetic kindness of his affections, the vivacity of his intellect, combined with the high moral tone and truthfulness of all his words and deeds, conspired to draw to him the love, confidence, and veneration of all his children and dependants. Love, purity, dignity, elegance and cheerfulness reigned around the hearth at which he presided, and made his the very model of a well-ordered Christian household—than which earth has no lovelier or more blessed object to offer to our view.

But scenes of this kind are best described by those who have been privileged to enter them and participate in them. I shall, therefore, give place here to two whose descriptions are inspired by personal recollections such as I had no opportunity of enjoying.

I quote first from the Reminiscences of Dr. Morison, to whom the reader has already been indebted for a faithful and vivid sketch of certain passages in Dr. Wardlaw's earlier life.

"It was after I had become a settled pastor for some years that it fell to my lot to meet Dr. Wardlaw in his own hospitable dwelling. I had seen him often, south and north, on public occasions, and exchanged letters of friendship, of which I have very many in my possession, breathing the most affectionate confidence; but till I saw him in the bosom of his own family I may truly say I never fully appreciated the exquisite symmetry and loveliness of his character.

"My first visit to the house of my friend was in 1824, when he was in the height of his popularity; and what I then saw in the midst of his domestic circle, as I marked the sunny brightness of his 'piety at home,' made an impression that can never be effaced. It seemed almost too perfect to be a reality; and yet a blessed reality it was, exhibiting in sweet combination all that

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nature and grace can accomplish for the union and bliss of a Christian household. Without a particle of stiffness or formality, the every-day life of the house, both late and early, seemed expressly adjusted so as to give full scope to all the domestic virtues, and to make religion a lovely and attractive thing, especially to the young.

"Though the Doctor's study-toils scarcely knew of remission for a single day or hour, it was truly delightful to perceive how instantaneously he could lay aside his pen and his books, and relax into the most cheerful freedom and facetiousness of familiar conversation, which made even children gather around him and listen to his discourse. So absolute was the rule of love in his happy home, that it acted with all the uniformity of a physical law; while in the sweet circle of smiling faces and bounding hearts it created, it presented a spectacle the very opposite of mechanical control. There was authority, indeed, and lodged too where it ought to be; but it was the authority of love and generous sympathy, which needed little or nothing of formal restraint, and which was felt rather as an impulse than obeyed as a command.

"I was struck to astonishment with the power which Dr. Wardlaw possessed of disentangling himself from severe study by a number of minor interruptions, and then of resuming the thread of his subject as if nothing had happened. He told me that he could in general do this with but slight damage to his train of thought. This said much for the fine discipline of his associating principle, but much more for the power of benevolent habit, which had never suffered him to become a literary autocrat or recluse in his own family.

"His powers of conversation were equally rich and varied. He could discuss a controverted point with great acuteness, logical force, and ready eloquence. His current criticisms upon men and things were in general such as no intelligent listener would wish to forget. He had boundless stores of that kind of ready wit, which, when free from all asperity, as it was in him, tends exceedingly to refine and enliven conversation, and to quicken the powers

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of fancy and observation. It was impossible to spend a dull or unprofitable evening in company with Dr. Wardlaw.

"His accomplishments as a divine of the strictly biblical class, caring but little for the schools, were seen in two ways—in the lucid and pungent remarks which dropt from his lips in ordinary conversation upon theological subjects, and in the amazing readiness and copiousness with which he could reply, at any given instant, to biblical questions of the profoundest character, involving some of the greatest difficulties connected with revealed religion."

To this sketch I am happy to be able to add the following still more full and minute analysis of Dr. Wardlaw's domestic life, from the pen of one whose opportunities of observing were the best possible, and who in mind and spirit so closely assimilated to the object of his eulogy that it is his prerogative to be heard on such a theme—I mean the Rev. J. S. Wardlaw of Bellary, the second son of Dr. Wardlaw.

"No heart ever found more fully than my dear father's a centre of attraction in the circle of domestic joys. He was wont to speak of these as in themselves 'the purest and best' that had 'survived the fall;' and when hallowed by divine grace—each member of the family being one with the other, as a child of God and an heir of glory—*home* was in his view the most appropriate and attractive emblem of heaven. And his own spirit, ever 'true to these kindred points,' found its sweetest pleasure in communion with God, and in the free and happy interchange of all the fond 'charities of father, son, and brother.' He was gifted in no ordinary degree with all the qualities most fitted to render home the happiest spot on earth; and a happier home there could not be than ours, when we were all gathered around him—enjoying his society, loving and being loved. His heart overflowed with affection. It beamed from his eye; it played on his lips; it was heard in every word; and was marked by a peculiar depth and tenderness. There is one—for fifty long years the partner of his life, whose widowed heart, feeling in his loss a void which never can be filled, 'knoweth its own

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bitterness'—who, in sadly sweet remembrance of the past, and with tearful eye, bears ample testimony to the fact that *as a husband* he was all that could be desired; and those who mourn his loss *as a parent* will, each one more eagerly than another, acknowledge that there never was a father to whom children were more deeply indebted, or one more entirely deserving of their best and warmest love.

"There was nothing in his manner towards us to inspire *dread*, but every thing to win and captivate the heart. In his presence we all felt the utmost *freedom*. There was no restraint, no reserve; but an easy and playful familiarity—a familiarity at the same time associated with the most profound respect. *Fear* was unknown except when a fault had been committed, and then it was the fear, not of 'hard words and harder stripes,' but the fear of encountering that look of mingled grief and displeasure which went so keenly to the heart. In earlier years the rod of correction was at times required—for we were not angels more than others; and when such chastisement was needed it was not withheld, for his affection had in it nothing of that foolish kindness which spares the rod at the expense of the child. Still 'the rod' was seldom used, and only on the failure of *moral* means; and the child, as he saw the tear in his father's eye, could not but be sensible that the correction—however much his rebellious spirit might for the moment spurn it—was inflicted with deep and unfeigned reluctance, and was a cause of heartfelt sorrow to him who administered it. With the elders of the family a word or a look was sufficient to keep them in subjection. His aim was to *rule by love*, and none ever accomplished his end more fully. No parent ever gained a more entire ascendency over the minds of his children. Kindly indulgent as he was, it cannot be said that he erred by *excessive* indulgence; for he never lost his control, or failed to secure implicit obedience to his will. Without yielding to undue anxiety, he cherished a deep and earnest longing for the spiritual welfare of his children; and it was his increasing aim by faithful instruction, by tender counsel and solemn warning—judiciously administered, and asso-

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ciated with a most attractive exhibition in his own conduct of the nature and influence of true piety—to bring their hearts under its holy and happy and life-giving power. He was wont to say, 'My cup of bliss would be full did I but see *all* my children within the fold of Christ—all loving and serving him.' And in answer to his efforts and prayers and the efforts and prayers of another, whose heart in this respect beat in unison with his own—this crowning joy was vouchsafed.

"He has been described as having in his countenance *an air of melancholy*.* He had doubtless his trials, and sorrow at times 'flung a shadow o'er his brow;' but it was of brief duration—only a passing cloud. Such were his views of all trial, in its origin and design, and such his unwavering confidence in the wisdom and love of God, that under affliction his spirits were never long or unduly weighed down; and he speedily rose above its distressing influence. As to anything like a settled tinge of melancholy, if his looks indicated it, they greatly belied his actual feelings. He was most uniformly *cheerful;* and his religion was of such a mould as to increase rather than diminish his cheerfulness. 'True religion,' he frequently remarked, 'is cheerful as the day. The gospel is *glad tidings;* and if rightly understood and heartily embraced, it must impart happiness.' And in this respect he was a beautiful example of its real influence. A more cheerful Christian there could not be. There was no gloom, no moroseness whatever about him. The smile of tranquil happiness played upon his lips, and his presence always brought with it joy. He would enter heart and soul into any innocent amusement or harmless pastime with his children, and with a freedom and lightness of heart almost incredible to those who saw him only in his graver moods, and especially when his countenance wore

* In an article by Gilfillan. I can't remember the words.

[The exact words are—"A tinge of sadness lies like 'the soft shadow of an angel's wing' upon his face and eye."—Gallery of Literary Portraits, p. 150. As one has no opportunity in the present state of observing the shadows of angels' wings, it is impossible to judge of the accuracy of this simile; but if the author intends anything more than that on serious occasions a becoming gravity sat on Dr. Wardlaw's brow and shaded his eye, his remark will not be assented to by any of Dr. Wardlaw's intimate friends.—W. L. A.]

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that air of impressive solemnity which often rested on it in public, under an overwhelming sense of the ineffable magnitude of the truths he had to proclaim, and the deep responsibility connected with their declaration, as involving the destiny of fellow-immortals for an endless eternity. It was his aim in all the intercourse of life to present Christianity in its true light, as designed to augment our happiness, and in no way interfering with the innocent hilarities of life. In his desire to make religion thus attractive, especially to the young, his only fear, he would often say, was lest he should *go to the extreme* in that direction; for if solicitous to avoid giving the impression that religion was gloomy, he shrunk with a still keener sensitiveness from the thought of leading any one to entertain a light conception of its magnitude. But this could not be; for even in his lightest moods he never for a moment sunk beneath the dignity of his position; and while, with almost youthful glee, uniting in the laugh and merry joke, all was chastened and hallowed by feelings of a higher order; and he could with ease restrain the mirth, and engage our thoughts in something more important, reminding us with serious, yet still with cheerful airs, that there was 'a time for everything.' And then, all gathered around the domestic altar—he would breathe the fervent prayer that our pleasures might be duly regulated, and all kept 'subordinate to the fear and love of God.' That quiet and playful *humour* with which he was gifted found full scope in the family circle, and afforded us often no small amount of merriment; but it was never indulged at the expense of others. It was always harmless. Few things were more offensive than any attempt at ridiculing the weaknesses and failings of others, especially if these were associated with some degree of real worth. He had considerable power of *sarcastic irony*, but he kept it under restraint, and if it found vent at all it was only in checking airs of self-conceited importance. He deemed indulgence in it at variance with 'the kindness and gentleness of Christ.' None loved more than he a happy stroke of *wit*, and his own efforts in that direction were often very successful. Nor was the *pun*—with all the contempt which Addison has heaped on it—despised if

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good. The practice of punning, indeed, in which some delight, and the incessant effort at saying *clever things* he could not abide. It was altogether beneath him. It was only in the family circle, enlarged, perhaps, by the addition of a few young friends—young *theologues*, it might be, from the south—that he thus indulged. And there are some who cannot but remember evenings spent with him in the bosom of his family—what Morell Mackenzie was wont facetiously to term the *noctes cœnœque deûm*—and the air of cheerful hilarity which he shed around him, blending in happy union easy pleasantry with interesting and profitable conversation.

"While he shared our joys, and was often the life and spring of them, he shared no less our *sorrows*. He made these sorrows his own; and all had the felt assurance that if there was not another on earth, there was *one* at least who would enter into their troubles; who would sympathise with them, and who would do his utmost to impart the comfort, the guidance or the encouragement needed. Slight and insignificant in his view as the cause of sorrow might be, it was enough that it existed to call forth at once the sympathies of his heart. And these sympathies were not limited in their exercise to the loved ones around him. They were most expansive. He had a heart to feel for all, and often when he heard of the distresses of others—neighbours and fellow-christians—the tear would start to his eye, while he exclaimed, 'O what cause of gratitude have *we* to that God who maketh us to differ!' It was this power of sympathy, in unison with the blandness and justness of his manner, that made his visits so highly prized as I know they were in the chamber of sickness and the house of mourning. He made himself in a measure one with the sufferers; and it was the same whether they were high or low, rich or poor. In the case of the latter, perhaps, his sympathies were specially called forth. He would listen with patient and feeling interest to the tale of their sorrow; and he was never more in his element than when amongst the poor of his flock—counselling, comforting and cheering them—unfolding to their view those divine promises which were the stay and solace of his own soul.

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"In a large family like his incidents must often occur *to try the temper;* but he manifested at all times the most calm and patient forbearance. If anger was excited it was instantly checked and subdued. None ever learned more fully 'to rule his spirit;' so that in circumstances of the most irritating description I never saw in him even an approach to *passion*. Over *all* his feelings, indeed, he had singular control. Though susceptible in the highest degree of those more refined and tender emotions, associated with such a loving heart as his, he could keep them under restraint in a manner which often excited the wonder of his friends, so that when others were fairly overcome, he maintained, though feeling perhaps more keenly than any, a calm, dignified and even cheerful composure. He acted thus from a sense of *duty*, lest by yielding to the emotions which struggled in his own breast, he should aggravate instead of alleviating the sorrow of those around him."

Allusion is made in these admirable sketches to the ease and freedom of Dr. Wardlaw's intercourse with his children. This he at times carried even the length of playfulness, directing and sharing in their juvenile sports, and exercising his ingenuity to find additional methods of innocent amusement. Whilst resident in the city, he was in the habit of spending part of every summer at some of the many delightful watering places with which the shores of the Firth of Clyde are studded, and there with his children around him he took his holiday with all the relish of one who had carried into mature life the simple tastes and pure affections of boyhood. Many a joyful excursion, many a pleasant stroll, many a piece of cordial fun and frolic had he and his children together, his share in which tended at once to endear him to their hearts and commend to them that religion which they thus saw to be capable even in its highest and purest forms of being associated with innocent gaiety and mirth. To himself these vacation seasons were full of attraction and refreshment, and when compelled by duty to forego them he felt it to be a sacrifice and a privation. On one occasion when called to visit the south on an important mission which detained him several

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weeks during the time his family were at their summer quarters on the banks of the Clyde, he thus wrote to his son John:—"You will all join in praise that my health continues sound and that my labours do not at all impair my strength. I only regret that I have not had it in my power to take part with my dear *Johnny* in his little fishing and other expeditions, and I look forward amidst the incessant occupations of my mission, and the stir and bustle of this great Metropolis, with the most intense delight, to the sweet retirement and domestic intercourse of the Clough. May a kind providence grant us a safe and happy meeting!"

To another of his children who was on a visit to some friends in Edinburgh, he thus wrote from Innerkip, also called Auldkirk, in the summer of 1824. "And now, my dear girl, when are we to see your laughing face in our little domestic circle? Are you not longing for Auldkirk? I am sure there is no comparison between *Auldkirk* and *Auld Reekie*;* between a beautiful rural retirement at such a time of the year, and the crowds and dust and sultry air and burning pavements, and offensive effluvia of a mighty city. It is to be sure a magnificent place and I greatly admire it. Yet still I agree with Cowper's preference—and dusty weather, I confess, which hardly leaves one eyes for 'city scenes,' contributes not a little to the heartiness of my concurrence —when he says

'God made the country and man made the town.'

"But I suppose you may have been enjoying the country too, for I am not sure where your ladyship's quarters may be at this moment, or which of your friends have the honour of being plagued with you. Plague as you are I yet somehow can't help longing to have you home; and your original *furlough* is now more than expired. So do set your face Innerkipward as speedily as may be."

Among other methods of amusement which Dr. Wardlaw sought out for his children was the ancient and quickening one of word-puzzles or charades. In the composition of these he was exceedingly dexterous, and those he produced were generally of

* An ancient *soubriquet* for Edinburgh.

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such a kind as to afford good exercise to the ingenuity of the parties to whom they were propounded, and to create a hearty laugh when resolved. Of these it may not be amiss to give one or two out of many which have been preserved, as a specimen.

The reader may imagine to himself a little fellow of eleven or twelve years old coming to bid his father "goodnight," and after the usual embrace and benediction exclaiming as he retires "Oh! papa, it is a long time since you made me a riddle; I wish you would make me one." "Hah! my boy, so you think these things are to be done to order, do you? Well; we shall see what the morning may produce; in the meantime goodnight." The morning comes; the family are assembled for breakfast; the door opens and in walks papa with wonted smiles and salutations, and as he reaches the petitioner of last evening he throws him a paper saying, "There my boy, I made that this morning as I was shaving; find it out if you can." The child reads as follows:—

Lawyers, Tapsters, Thieves, Musicians
With my *first* have all to do;
Boxers, Brides, and grave Magicians
To my *second* promise true;
Light my *third* as any feather,
Yet 'twould break your back, my boy;
Prince of rogues my *whole* together
Vanished in a fit of joy.

The combined ingenuity of the youthful group fails to discover the word whose properties are so marvellous, and at last the author has to announce *Bar-ring-ton* as the word required—the name of a notorious scoundrel who after a long series of depredations at last disappeared through the medium of a *transport*.

Let the reader imagine again the family grouped around the fire of a winter's evening. The tasks of the day are over, the lessons for next day learnt, and the season for a brief interval of domestic festivity, before the head of the household retires to his study for his evening labours, has arrived. "Papa, give us a riddle," exclaims at length one of the merry group; and papa, prepared for the possible demand, pulls from his pocket and reads:—

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My *first* may recall the lamented dead,
Yet is seen in the eye of the living,
And the gamester full often has watched it with dread,
And a heart filled with horrid misgiving.

In the kingdom of letters my *next* stands so high
That no rival above him can rise;
But with his twin brother in vain will he vie
In the merit of being precise.

No creature would choose to be found in my *third*
Of subtle deception the prey;
All avoid it who can, man, beast, fish and bird,
All but fools in the flatterer's sway.

Come find my strange *whole*—come wife, son and daughter,
Let it not put your wits to a stand;
It expresses what no one can do but in water,
Yet it rattles to mirth upon land.

This is unanimously given up, so that the author has himself to divulge the mysterious subject of his verses. A merry laugh rings round the hearth as he mentions the word "Cast-a-net;" but this riddle is voted too difficult for juvenile ingenuity and a petition is preferred for an easier one. "Well then nothing can be easier than this; so let me see who will answer it first."

My *first* you will find at your finger ends;
My *next* in your bosom you lay;
The fair from the cold my *whole* defends,
Or assists to make vanity gay.

Before this is well out it is answered, and as the former was too difficult this is pronounced too easy. A third is then produced.

For sport or for mischief my *first* is a cheat,
Which of course with a smile or a frown you may treat;
My *second* you'll find has strange opposites in't,
With softness oft clothed yet as hard as a flint;
Though cold yielding comfort, and clothing though bare,
The emblem of firmness yet twirled by the fair.
If my first and my second your wits should beguile,
You may search for my *whole* in the Emerald isle.

This after some puzzling is at length discovered to be "Shamrock." After a few more of this sort another on a different principle is produced.

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Do my *first* to my *first* and an earldom expires,
In Scotia's story renowned.
Change my *next* to my *next* and all order retires,
And bustle and battle are found.
Do my *first* to my *whole* and, though bedded in bone,
My use is suspended, sensation is gone.

At first this seems a puzzler; but after a little guessing and a few tentative processes some one lucky or ingenious beyond the rest cries out "marrow," and the solution is admitted. Time is now wearing away, and juvenile eyes are waxing heavy, so that instead of seeing through riddles they are in popular phrase "gathering straws." Only one more, then, can be conceded to the ambition of the older wits, and it too shall be on a different principle from the others. Here it is—

There is a little word contains
Every kind of sins and pains;—
Prefix one letter, in a minute
Gold and silver tinkle in it;—
Another—it again sends forth
Sins and pains in south and north.

After a little rumination one hits on the word "ill" as the only little word that is expressive of both sin and pain. No sooner is this enunciated than another exclaims "Prefix *t* and it becomes till;" and then the final solution is not far to seek, for prefix *s* and it becomes "still," the fruitful source of sins and pains wherever its noxious products are circulated.

And now with kindly embrace and loving speech the little assembly dissolves for the night—the younger ones to retire to sleep, the older to some useful occupation, and the father to his study, there probably to explore the meaning of some difficult passage of Scripture, or to grapple with some profound or subtle disputant in metaphysics or theology.

If there are any to whom such occupations as I have just described shall appear too trivial to engage the attention of one devoted to such serious pursuits as Dr. Wardlaw was, I beg to remind them of what is narrated of a very great man who, having been on one occasion caught in a most undignified attitude whilst romping with his children, by an illustrious stranger who had

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come to visit him, asked his visitor, "Pray, Sir, are you a father?" "I am," was the reply; "Then," said he," to you I need offer no apology for the way in which you found me engaged." Let me add also what Dr. Johnson says in his life of Isaac Watts, when referring to his writings for children:—"Every man acquainted with the common principles of human actions will look with veneration on the writer who is at one time combating Locke and at another making a catechism for children in their fourth year. A voluntary descent from the dignity of science is perhaps the hardest lesson that humility can teach." Nor will it be amiss to cite the following remarks of Addison:—"The true spirit of religion cheers as well as composes the soul; it banishes, indeed, all levity of behaviour, all vicious and dissolute mirth, but in exchange fills the mind with a perpetual serenity, uninterrupted cheerfulness and an habitual inclination to please others, as well as to be pleased in itself." *

Never were these select and sagacious words more admirably exemplified than in Dr. Wardlaw. His religion made him cheerful, and filled him with a continual desire to gratify those around him, as it made him ready to receive gratification from them. With him, however, religion was ever first and predominant, and even his most facetious hours were under its supreme control. His children knew and felt this. His whole conduct told them he was a truly religious man—one who feared God and eschewed evil; and hence the freedom with which he mingled in their little amusements only made more impressive to them his counsels and entreaties in regard to their highest interests. How he dealt with them in this respect may be gathered from the following extracts from letters to his children:—

To Miss A. F. Wardlaw.

Glasgow, June 18th, 1824.

My *very* dear girl—You have been longing, I hope, to hear from your papa. I say "*I hope*," for I certainly should not greatly enjoy the thought that you were indifferent whether you heard from him or not. Well do I know the contrary; and powerful and fascinating as the attractions of the

* Spectator, No. 494.

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Scottish metropolis have, I understand, been experienced by you to be, they are not possessed of magnetic virtue enough to draw your tender affections from the dear objects of their attachment *at home*, and at home there are needles that point YOUR way too. Parental love, with an unvarying constancy and a quick and eager solicitude, follows its objects wherever they go. The blessed God, my beloved child, has made our hearts the seat of these tender reciprocal affections. And oh, how their mutual exercise contributes to give sweetness and relish to life! But *two things* I trust my Anna will not forget. The *first* is, that there is *One* who has a still prior claim—a claim upon our *supreme* affections—upon the "*first fruits*" of all that we are and have. I know how well you love your earthly father, and sweetly I feel it; but oh remember, your filial love to him must not be cherished as a substitute for that which you owe to your Father who is in heaven." Have you from the heart said to HIM, "my father, THOU art the guide of my youth?" And while the smile of pleasure has lighted up your countenance, or the tear of tenderness has stolen from your eye, on receiving any expression of fondness from those whom you love on earth, have you thought of *his* high claim upon you, who says, "Whoso loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me?" And who for all that he *is*, and for all that he *hath done for us*, is so well entitled to say so! The *second* thing not to be forgotten is the short-lived and precarious nature of all earthly connections. They *must* be broken. And in proportion to the sweetness of previous enjoyment, is the bitterness of its loss. O how delightful, my love, to have the bonds of grace superinduced upon the ties of nature! to be fellow-members of the family of God in Christ Jesus! so that, instead of living in the constant *apprehension of parting*, we may live in the habitual *expectation of meeting*. O what a difference between *parting never to meet* and *meeting never to part!* The latter shall be the unutterable joy of all the children of God, amongst whom it will be the dearest delight of your father's and mother's heart to see you enrol yourself.

To Mr. J. S. WARDLAW.

. . . . . .

I hope you will ever be thankful to God, my dearest boy, for the benefits of a mother's love. You do not know how much you owe to it. And oh! if you owe much to either a mother's or a father's affection, how much more do you owe to that divine father "from whom cometh down every good and perfect gift." You owe *all* to Him—all you *are*, and all you *have*. Let his favour, my beloved boy, be your chief good. Your judgment must be perfectly satisfied, that without it there can be nothing that deserves the name of happiness. Many temptations there are to seek happiness from other sources. But every attempt to find it has failed, and must fail. You must "seek" God if you would be happy; and in the Bible you are assured, "*If thou seek Him he will be found of thee.*" The alternative is fearful, "*If thou forsake him, He will cast thee off for ever.*" With the fear of God as your principle, and the blessing of God as your portion, you may carry happiness with you round the world—happiness with which nothing can interfere; but without these the universe may be searched for in vain. Lay down your principle then, my dear boy, that whatever others do *you will serve the Lord.* Seek his pardoning mercy; seek his renewing grace; seek both in the name of Jesus; and remember that

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the blessed God has a claim on every period of life—the morning as well as the noon and the evening of it. I do not need to bid you be diligent in the different branches of your education—you *are* so, and I trust will continue so. But never let diligent attention to any department of study withdraw your attention from that *best of books* which alone contains the words of eternal life.

Such was Dr. Wardlaw in the midst of his children, while as yet they were young. We shall have opportunities afterwards of noting how he dealt with them as they grew up into men and women. His wise and loving discipline brought its reward. Though he had (as what parent has not?) anxieties and griefs to bear in connection with his children, he was saved the greatest sorrow of all—that of seeing any of them forsaking the paths of virtue and goodness; and when he was taken from earth, he had the immense satisfaction of believing on solid grounds that both those who had preceded him and those whom he left behind were bound up with him in the bundle of eternal life and should be found standing with him "in his lot at the end of the days."

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CHAPTER IX.

A. D. 1824—A. D. 1826.

We now enter on the more important and eventful portion of Dr. Wardlaw's public life. His reputation as a preacher was now at its height; his influence in the religious world was large and increasing; and the agitation of great public questions on which much difference of opinion, and in some cases strong excitement of feeling prevailed, called him frequently into the arena of controversy and the field of authorship. If in some respects the task of his biographer becomes henceforward more easy from the events of his life being better known and the materials more copious, in other respects its difficulties are enhanced from the course of the narrative running amidst events still fresh in the recollection of multitudes, and controversies which awakened passions not yet altogether allayed. If in the estimation of the poet, it was a work full of dangerous hazard to write contemporary history, and the path of one so engaged seemed to him to lie over fires hidden under treacherous ashes;* what shall be said of him whose task it is to follow the career of an active polemic, at the risk of raking up the still smoking embers of recent controversies, and drawing down upon his own head the simultaneous displeasure of the parties whom his subject successively encountered? Be the risks, however, what they may, he has no resource but to follow the path marked out for him: if without offence so much the better; but should that be denied to him, still steadily onward as truthfully and candidly as he may.

* Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ
Tractas, et incedis per ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.—Hor. Carm. ii. 1, 6.

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I begin with a topic on which no feelings of an unpleasant kind can be awakened—Dr. Wardlaw's pulpit labours.

Dr. Morison who had an opportunity of hearing Dr. Wardlaw preach in the ordinary course of duty in his own pulpit during a visit to Glasgow in 1824, thus records his impressions of him as a preacher:—"When I listened to him in 1824 it was indeed a high privilege and gratification to sit at his feet. His prepossessing appearance and sweetly persuasive tones of voice gave him an advantage, doubtless, over very many of his brethren; but beyond these, there was an unaffected, unpriestly gravity of manner in his pulpit addresses —a clear and masterly mode of laying down the groundwork of a sermon—a felicity of diction and a force of argument—a vein of solid and beautiful criticism—an intense adherence to biblical thoughts and biblical phrase—and withal a completeness and perfection in his discourses, considered as a whole, which well entitled him to be regarded by the most competent judges as one of the first preachers of his age. If he indicated but little vehemence of passion in his style of pulpit eloquence, it was mainly because the cast and complexion of his thoughts were better represented by the calm dignity of a resistless persuasiveness."

Having at a period not very long after that here referred to enjoyed the privilege of being myself a regular hearer of Dr. Wardlaw for some months, I can corroborate the testimony which Dr. Morison gives in the above extract. As a youth I was greatly struck with the graceful dignity of his manner in the pulpit, the suavity of his tones, the easy continuous flow of his silvery elocution, the solidity of his matter, and the vivacity as well as acuteness of his argumentation. His *pose* (to borrow a word from artists) in the pulpit was admirable; his body erect, his chest fully expanded, his head, with its fine classic contour, thrown well back, and his whole figure indicating at once freedom and firmness. He used but little action, and read closely and continuously; but the modulations of his voice were so varied and so just that all sense of weariness was charmed

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away, and an effect not less than that of oratory was produced on the mind. What Dr. Morison says also of the biblical character of his thinking and phraseology is very true. I remember being continually struck with this in hearing him, and also with the ease and correctness with which, raising his eyes from his manuscript, he used to repeat large portions of Scripture which he had occasion to quote. Indeed, I used to think, in those days, that his discourses were too biblical, and that an occasional excursion into more speculative regions would have been an advantage—an opinion to which, to a certain extent, I still cling; for great as is the value to be attached to exposition of Scripture as a method of instructing the people, there may be an undue contraction of the proper range and proper influence of the pulpit if that method be so exclusively followed as it was by Dr. Wardlaw at the time referred to. As an expositor of Scripture, however, Dr. Wardlaw has had few equals. Other men might be more original and more piquant in their illustrations, or they might show greater ingenuity in placing a passage in new and unexpected lights, or they might, from a deeper acquaintance with philology and more extensive reading of commentators, bring a larger measure of exegetical power to bear upon its exposition; but for solid, well-considered and perspicacious elucidation of the meaning of a passage, in harmony with its context, and according to the analogy of Scripture, we are safe in claiming for Dr. Wardlaw a first-rank place. His peculiar talents, of course, fitted him for the exposition of some parts of Scripture better than others—the argumentative and practical better than the poetical or symbolical; but one might venture to assert that from the mass of expository discourses which he delivered during his ministry there might be extracted an exposition of the greater part of Scripture, such as the English language does not yet possess, and such as would be of vast advantage to all who are interested in the study of the sacred volume.*

* Dr. Wardlaw's views of the work of an expositor of Scripture are given by himself in the following words:—"The great business of an expositor ought to be

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In 1824 Dr. Wardlaw was summoned to assume his armour in defence of the earliest publication which he had given to the world, his Lectures on the Abrahamic Covenant. On the 5th of April that year his friend Mr. Burder wrote him, "I have this morning received a copy of my neighbour Mr. Cox's book on Baptism, replying to Dr. Dwight, Mr. Ewing and Dr. Wardlaw's Lectures on the Abrahamic Covenant. Now, my friend, you must put out your strength to vanquish this daring champion." This summons Dr. Wardlaw was nothing loth to obey. He had for a long time been desirous of remodelling and republishing the argument contained in these Lectures in favour of Infant Baptism, and the somewhat grandiloquent and vaunting challenge of Mr. Cox gave him the occasion and the necessary stimulus. He accordingly issued in the early part of 1825 a volume bearing the title "A Dissertation on the Scriptural Authority, Nature and Uses of Infant Baptism."

This work is not a reply to Mr. Cox or to any one in particular. The author pursues a connected and continuous argument of his own, and only adverts to the opinions of others as they chance to cross his path. It is, indeed, greatly less controversial than a book on a subject so much discussed might have been expected to be. Its tone is calm and moderate, and no attempt is made to bolster up the argument of the book either by declamation or by casting any aspersion on those whose views it is designed to subvert. "It has been my endeavour," he says in the preface, "to adhere to the Latin maxim, 'Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re,' familiarly rendered in English, 'Soft words and hard arguments.' Whether I have succeeded or failed the reader must judge. If occasionally I may have expressed myself (of which, however, I am not conscious) with unbecoming asperity, may I find forgiveness of

to give a clear view of the scope or main design of the writer whom he expounds, and to show how his reasonings establish, and his illustrations elucidate, the point of which he treats. All matter that is not immediately relevant for this end ought to be either omitted entirely, or very sparingly introduced—if touched not dwelt upon." This was written in 1825, and well describes what was the prevailing character of his own expositions of Scripture.

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Him who has said, 'The servant of the Lord must not strive but be gentle unto all men.'" To one who was able to use the sharp weapons of irony and sarcasm as Dr. Wardlaw could, the temptation must often have been strong to resort to these in dealing with some whose reasonings he criticises in this work; but he has throughout stedfastly resisted it, and in no instance has let drop an expression of which his opponents could have just cause to complain.

This Essay, besides some introductory remarks of a preliminary kind, consists of three parts. In the first of these the author considers "the divinely instituted practice previously to the New Testament dispensation, and the absence of all evidence authorising a departure from that practice under it." Here his aim is to sustain the following position:—"Before the coming of Christ the covenant of grace had been revealed; and under that covenant there existed a divinely instituted connection between children and their parents; the sign and seal of the blessings of the covenant was, by divine appointment, administered to children; and there can be produced no satisfactory evidence of this connection having been done away." In the second part he adduces "evidence of the fact that, instead of such departure being authorised, the children of converts to the faith of the gospel were actually baptized along with their parents in the time of the Apostles." And in the third part he elucidates "the important truths and duties which the baptism of infants exhibits and impresses upon our minds; and the perfect consistency of the administration of this ordinance to them, with all that the Bible teaches respecting them as subjects of salvation and of the kingdom of heaven."

Of these three sections the first is probably that to which the author would have pointed as the most important in an argumentative point of view. As a Paedobaptist he rested his practice mainly on the connection between children and parents under the Abrahamic covenant (which, he contended, was in its spiritual aspect *identical* with the covenant of grace), and on the use of circumcision as the sign and seal of that covenant. The

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subversion of this argument would not, indeed, have left him defenceless, but it would have been felt by him very much as the overthrow of his chief bulwark.

Of the great ability which is displayed in this part of the book there can be but one opinion; and it is impossible to read it without feeling that whatever acuteness and ingenuity could do to substantiate such a line of argument has been done here. At the same time I question if any one ever tried to reproduce the argument in his own mind without feeling that there were some serious gaps in it, over which one had to take a flying leap in order to reach the conclusion. It may be conceded to the author that the Abrahamic covenant, in its spiritual aspect, was identical with the covenant of grace, and that circumcision stood related to the covenant as a whole, and not only to its temporal part as distinguished from its spiritual; but after all, it does appear startling that, on the ground of this, we should be asked to admit that because that covenant recognised a connection between a child and his father as one of the *natural* posterity of Abraham, it also recognised a connection between a child and his parent, whether father or mother, as one of the *spiritual* seed of Abraham. How this follows from the premises I confess I have never been able to see. I can understand how a certain class of privileges should run along the line of natural descent, and how another class should run along the line of spiritual descent; but how the two should interlace so as that natural descent should entitle to privileges which belong only to spiritual descent, I find nothing in the reasoning of this book that helps me to comprehend. Suppose a nobleman had received his lands and titles on the condition that all his natural posterity, as such, should inherit his lands, but that his titles should be borne only by such, whether his natural descendants or not, as resembled him in character; and suppose that after some generations a man claimed to sustain the titles, not on the plea that his character resembled that of the head of the succession, but on the ground that he was the *son* of one who possessed that resemblance; would his plea be admitted? I judge not; and is not

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this case exactly analogous to that of one claiming privilege under the Abrahamic charter, on the ground that he is the natural descendant of a person whose title to its privileges was not natural descent but spiritual character?

I would advance with diffidence when I venture to charge the reasoning of such a logician as Dr. Wardlaw with a fallacy. And yet turn it as I may, this argument from the Abrahamic Covenant in favour of infant baptism always presents itself to my mind as fallacious. The fallacy seems to me to lie in a *petitio principii*, an assuming of the thing to be proved, viz., that the children of believers are, in virtue of their parent's faith, under the covenant. Let this be proved, and there can be no further question as to their title to receive the sign of the covenant—be it circumcision or be it baptism. But I confess it does appear to me a paralogism to argue that because the natural seed of Abraham received the sign of the covenant *in virtue of their descent from him*, by which they were brought undoubtedly under the covenant, therefore the natural seed of *Gentile believers* are also to be held as included under the covenant, and as entitled to receive the sign of this. There may be a logical consequence here, but I confess it is as yet hid from my perception.

I do not wish to obtrude my own views on the reader by entering at large into this question here, but I may be permitted to observe, that to my mind, if baptism is to be regarded as having come in the place of circumcision, the argument from the Abrahamic Covenant lies altogether with the Baptists and not with us. For, in virtue of the relation of type and antitype, the natural descent of the Israelites corresponds to the spiritual descent of believers, that is their succession through one becoming the spiritual father of others; and consequently as natural descent entitled the son of a Jew to circumcision as the sign of the covenant, it is spiritual descent which alone entitles a man to receive baptism as that which, under the spiritual dispensation, has come in the place of circumcision. Hence, as descent from Jewish parents must be proved before a child could be circumcised of old, so spiritual descent by faith from those who have

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conveyed to us the gospel—in other words real conversion—must be proved before a man is entitled to be baptized. I do not know whether our Baptist friends will think themselves any the better of this argument; but if they do, I make them welcome to it; I think it quite as good as that on the other side—but no better.

Baptism as a Christian institute dates from the commission given by our Lord to his Apostles before his ascension. Whether baptism had before this been practised among the Jews, saving in the case of John the Baptist, possesses little beyond a mere historical interest. All that is substantially convincing and important in reference to the rite as one binding on us lies in the terms of the commission given by our Lord, and in the practice of the Apostles whilst acting under that commission. What do these words of our Lord mean? And how did his Apostles, as the inspired expositors of his meaning, follow out in their practice the injunctions thus given? These are the only questions of primary importance for us as disciples of Jesus Christ in reference to this rite. If these questions can be satisfactorily answered we need ask no further except as matter of legitimate curiosity. If they cannot, no other inquiries will ever carry with them sufficient weight to determine the *obligations* of Christians in respect of this observance. It is to the second and third parts of Dr. Wardlaw's Essay, therefore, that I feel disposed to attach the chief value, though I think he would have done more ample justice to this part of his argument had not his mind been filled and warped by his reasonings in the preceding part.

Anxious as Dr. Wardlaw was to avoid giving offence to those whose sentiments he opposes in this Essay he was not fortunate enough to succeed in this. Offence he gave to one party, bitter and deep; and that, strange to say, not by any essential part of his Essay, nor to any of those whose reasonings he had occupied himself in refuting there, but by a word or two in the preface, a line or two in a footnote, and a single expression near the close of the Essay! Some time before the publication of this dissertation, it seems, the Rev. Isaiah Birt of Birmingham had sent forth

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certain "Strictures on a Sermon entitled 'The right of Infants to Baptism, by the Rev. H. F. Burder, M.A.,'" in which he had uttered statements to one of which Dr. Wardlaw refers as deserving the utmost reprobation, and as evincing a degree of unfairness towards many of his Paedobaptist brethren not to be expected from such a quarter; and another of which he stigmatises as "a rash and unfounded slander." Now in the preface to his Essay Dr. Wardlaw had unfortunately cited this pamphlet as the production of the Rev. Mr. Birt of *Manchester;* whereupon this gentleman conceiving great wrath indited a pamphlet in the form of a letter to Dr. Wardlaw, in which he sharply corrected the latter for the language he had used respecting the sentiments quoted by him from the "Strictures," and rated him with an indignation that sought vent not once but at each successive stage, for his offence in confounding the Rev. Isaiah Birt of Birmingham with the Rev. John Birt of Manchester—the father with the son. To this hasty and intemperate publication Dr. Wardlaw replied in a pamphlet entitled "A Reply to the letter of the Rev. John Birt of Manchester to Dr. Wardlaw on some passages in his Dissertation on Infant Baptism," with the motto from Bunyan, "Why art thou so tart my brother?" This motto is characteristic of the tone that runs through the reply—a tone at once of surprise and amazement at "the fuss and vapouring" which the author of the letter had chosen to make about a very small matter. Dr. Wardlaw acknowledges his "stupidity" in ascribing the authorship to the wrong man, and withdraws the word "slander" as apt to be misunderstood, and as, when coupled with the epithet "unfounded," containing a tautology; and having made these admissions he proceeds to defend himself and his statements in a style which one would think must have made his antagonist feel very uncomfortable. Not a single expression betrays the existence of excitement or of suppressed indignation on the part of the writer, whilst not a statement of Mr. Birt is allowed to pass without being thoroughly analysed and exposed. It is as good-humoured a slaying of an antagonist as one need wish to see.

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Whilst engaged in carrying his Dissertation on baptism through the press, Dr. Wardlaw published a sermon, entitled, "The Divine Dissuasive to the Young against the Enticements of Sinners," from the text, Prov. i. 10-19. This sermon was preached on the evening of Sabbath, 19th September 1824, and was published at the request of the Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement, on whose behalf it had been preached. It is a pointed, affectionate, and earnest pleading with the young to be on their guard against the plausible and enticing solicitations of the wicked, and to turn resolutely from them.

Dr. Wardlaw's next summons to the arena of authorship and of controversy came from a more famous antagonist than any he had hitherto encountered. On the 6th of April 1825 Mr. Brougham was inaugurated as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, on which occasion he read a discourse to the assembled university such as perhaps no other man but himself could have produced. In this splendid oration, rich in the spoils of an almost universal conquest of the domain of knowledge, and sparkling with the gems of a rare and nervous eloquence, the author ventured upon one statement, which to many of his auditors, and to multitudes who read the discourse after it was published, appeared unsound in principle and fraught with danger to the interests of religion and morals. The statement was this :—"The great truth has finally gone forth to all the ends of the earth, that man shall no more render account to man for his belief, over which he has himself no control. Henceforward nothing shall prevail upon us to praise or to blame any one for that which he can no more change than he can the hue of his skin or the height of his stature." This statement was held by many to be equivalent to the assertion that man is not morally responsible for the opinions he holds in religion and morals, and from such a statement they recoiled. Among this number was Dr. Wardlaw; and so important did the subject appear to him, that he made it the theme of a couple of discourses, delivered on the first Lord's Day evenings of the two months immediately

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following the publication of Mr. Brougham's discourse. These he immediately afterwards published, with a dedication to the Regius Professor of Theology in the Glasgow University, the late Dr. Stevenson Macgill. The text of the discourses is John iii. 18, 19. The former is devoted to the maintenance of the general principle that man is morally responsible for his belief, in so far as that is influenced by his affections or inclinations; and in the latter he shows that "all unbelief of the gospel has its origin in evil." In the former, he shows that the ground on which the orator had rested his dogma, if valid at all, would go the full length of showing that man is not only not responsible to his fellow-man for his belief, but that he has no account to render for his belief to God. To this point, then, he directs his investigation as one at which the author of the inaugural discourse comes into direct collision with the sacred writers, who, "when they announced their testimony in the name of the God of truth, knew nothing of that philosophy which would release men from the obligation to give it a believing reception, and exculpate them from all guilt in the refusal of it." Such a philosophy, he proceeds to show, is unsound in itself, because incompatible with phenomena of every-day occurrence in the mental activity, which show that "opinions are influenced by disposition, belief by inclination, the decisions of the understanding by the state of the heart," and consequently that the former are "fair and legitimate subjects of moral responsibility." He then proceeds to show, that according to Scripture all unbelief of the gospel has a moral cause, and that that cause is evil—adducing in the first instance evidence to prove that the Bible does so regard unbelief, and then illustrating the *grounds* on which this judgment rests. Here he shows that there are three things which are necessary to the guilt of unbelief, viz. capacity of understanding, opportunity of knowledge, and sufficiency of evidence, meaning by the last, not such evidence as necessarily *compels* belief, but such as shall satisfy the mind of the candid and intelligent inquirer, such as is *reasonably* sufficient to produce conviction. The second discourse is principally occupied in illustrating the general sources

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to which unbelief of the gospel may be fairly traced. Those specified are profligacy, thoughtlessness and pride.

On the publication of these sermons Dr. Wardlaw sent, as in courtesy bound, a copy to the illustrious individual whose statement they were intended to controvert, accompanied by the following letter:—

Glasgow, October 27th, 1825.

Dear Sir—If, in the midst of your multifarious and weighty engagements, for which one might suppose you possessed the peculiar faculty of *making time*, you can contrive to find an hour for the perusal of the accompanying publication, I fondly persuade myself the moments bestowed upon it may not be considered as lost. For, should you find it impossible to admire the execution of the work, and judge the writer incompetent to the task he has undertaken, you will discriminate between this incompetency and the importance of the subject brought under discussion—a subject to which it would afford him no trifling satisfaction to have drawn the serious and deliberate attention of such a mind as that of Henry Brougham—a subject which, relating as it does to the connection of immortal beings with God and with eternity, is so far from being beneath intellects of even the most capacious grasp and penetrating acumen, that, instead of demeaning, it honours and elevates them—a subject, of which the paramount greatness and interest will be appreciated and felt in that solemn hour, when all the hurry of the business, and the politics, and even the philanthropy of this world shall come to a close, and the grand desideratum will be, a solid and satisfactory basis on which to repose our hopes for the world that is before us. You will, I am confident, more than excuse my honest freedom in writing thus, believing it to be, as it really is, the dictate of the heart of one who, in the very highest sense the words can bear, *wishes you well*, and who has the honour to be, &c.

To this he received the following reply:—

London, Nov. 2, 1825.

Rev. Sir—I have only just received your letter of the 27th October, and I beg you to accept my best thanks for the present of your Sermons, which have also followed me from the country, and which I shall take the earliest opportunity of perusing with great attention.

I rejoice that the discussion has fallen into such hands, and you may rest assured that whatever difference of opinion a very deliberate examination of your arguments may leave between us, I shall always feel much gratified in having the positions in question thoroughly sifted; still more so when the operation is performed by one so conspicuous for candour as well as ability.—I am, &c. H. Brougham.

This is as courteous as could be desired, and perhaps from so busy a man it would be unreasonable to expect anything more. Still one would have liked to know the opinion of such

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an one as Henry Brougham respecting the arguments urged by Dr. Wardlaw against the position which, by implication, he was understood to maintain in his Inaugural Address. That he should have done so at the time the above letter was written, no one could expect; nor if, amid the business and agitations of the years that immediately followed, the subject had been extruded from his mind could any one have either wondered or blamed. But when he came to republish his Address among his collected speeches, a work most carefully revised and edited, the occasion had surely arrived when it was due to himself and to Dr. Wardlaw to have stated his opinion of the validity of the arguments which the latter had employed against him. This, however, he has not thought proper to do, but has reprinted the passage in his Address on which Dr. Wardlaw had animadverted, in its original form, and without note or comment. We are entitled from this to conclude that Lord Brougham accepts as just the interpretation put on his words by his critic, and that in spite of the reasonings of the latter he still holds that man is not morally answerable even to God for his religious belief.

It may be regretted that Dr. Wardlaw should have chosen the form of a sermon as that in which to issue his strictures on Lord Brougham's dogma; for he has been thereby, I think, betrayed into a diffuseness which is not favourable to his argument. I venture also to submit whether he has not overdrawn the conclusion to which that argument entitled him to come, by asserting *on the strength of it* that all unbelief of the gospel under the conditions which he has specified is a sin. His argument is in itself really a very short one. It must be admitted on all hands as a general psychological fact that our opinions and judgments are capable of being very materially affected and even determined by our affections, our likings or dislikings; on this head the experience of the vulgar and the decisions of philosophers are unanimous. Assuming this, it follows that as we are responsible for the state of our affections we must be responsible for our belief so far as it is determined by our affections.

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In each particular case, then, where a true and well-attested testimony is not believed, it becomes simply a question of *fact* whether the party is to be blamed or not—the point to be determined being whether his unbelief is the result of evil affections or of causes over which he has had no control. Beyond this the argument cannot proceed as an argument for the establishment of a general principle; it can conduct to nothing better than this hypothetical enunciation, that *if* the party has been swayed by his affections to the erroneous conclusion at which he has arrived he is morally blameworthy. In such a case he must not only take the consequences of his error, but he must be pronounced morally *deserving* of these.

Now if this be all the length we can go in the general argument, what more can we say in applying that to the special case of unbelief of the gospel than simply this, that assuming Christianity to be from God, and to be accompanied with sufficient evidence of this, every man who has it and its evidences submitted to him is answerable to God for the way in which he treats it, so that if he shall reject it or neglect it, in consequence of indulging some evil affection, he will be held guilty of sin on that account? Thus far the reasoning seems irrefragable; but when we advance beyond this, and turn the hypothetical proposition into a general affirmative by saying, Every man who, under the conditions assumed, does reject or neglect Christianity *is* influenced to this by evil affections, we go beyond the bounds of legitimate assertion, and assume a position which only the Searcher of Hearts is entitled to occupy.

On the other hand, whilst the argument Dr. Wardlaw has pursued appears to me to come short of the conclusion to which he would push it, I would submit that in resting his case solely on that argument he has taken lower ground than he was entitled to take in the discussion of such a question as that mooted by Lord Brougham. Why shrink from asserting at once that unbelief is an act of *volition*, for which men are responsible as they are for all voluntary acts? When our Lord says, "Ye *will* not believe," why should we not take his words as they

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stand in their plain obvious meaning, instead of diluting them into "Ye are indulging certain evil affections which prevent your seeing and feeling the force of the evidence which accompanies what I am saying." Do men never refuse belief to a true and credible statement except when they are prevented by their affections from *perceiving the evidence?* Dr. Wardlaw makes a statement from which we may infer that he would have replied in the affirmative; for he lays it down as an axiom "that belief must necessarily correspond with the perception of evidence, it being in the nature of the thing impossible that the mind should believe or disbelieve otherwise than as evidence is or is not discerned." Now, if this were true, we should be constrained to admit that every man who does not accept the gospel remains in unbelief simply because he has been prevented by his evil disposition from perceiving the evidence of the gospel. But is this *all* we are entitled to say in such a case? Is not the charge to be brought against those who refuse the gospel, in a multitude of cases at least, this, that they have had a full perception of the evidence and yet have not willed to believe? And is it consonant with psychological fact to say that it is impossible for a man to believe or disbelieve otherwise than as evidence is or is not discerned? Experience daily supplies numerous instances on the one hand of persons firmly believing things for which their minds perceive no evidence whatever, and on the other stedfastly refusing to believe things the evidence for which they perceive to be full and sufficient. "No evidence," says Mr. Ballantyne, "can be stronger against a doctrine than that which reduces it to a direct contradiction; and yet I appeal to common experience if we do not every day fall in with people whose opinions we could show to themselves to involve the most complete contradictions; but who nevertheless continue to believe them as firmly as ever—to believe them from the mere *habit of believing* without any evidence (in the common sense of the term) whatever."* We may instance also such a case as

* Examination of the Human Mind, p. 501.

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that of the drunkard, to whom in his sober moments it may be made most evident that he is injuring himself, body, soul, and estate, and who, though fully convinced of this, shows he has not allowed himself to believe it by persisting in his intemperate courses. And so in many other cases. Indeed, so much is it in accordance with common experience that we can control our belief, even after the evidence is fully perceived, that it has passed into a proverb that "none are so blind as those who will not see" —a proverb which affirms that even the evidence of the senses may be resisted by an effort of the will.

It is not unusual to find it laid down as a settled psychological fact that *truth* is the proper object of the intellect, and *good* the proper object of the will; from which the inference is drawn that the admission of truth is purely an intellectual act. But surely this dogma may be questioned. Truth is the accordance of a proposition with a given standard of true and false, as good is the accordance of an act or feeling with a given standard of right and wrong. To *perceive* this accordance is in both cases a process of the intellect. What, then, is the office of the will in reference to the latter? It is to admit the fact of such accordance and to hold for good that which is perceived to be so. All this is matter of general admission. But why, I ask, not follow out the same analysis with reference to the perception of *truth*, and say that, after the accordance of any proposition with the standard of truth is perceived by the intellect, it remains with the will to determine whether or not it shall assent to this, and hold for true that proposition. Or, to put it more shortly, If the holding for good of an act perceived by the intellect to be good be a voluntary and therefore moral act, why should not the holding for true of an opinion perceived by the intellect to be true be also esteemed a voluntary and therefore moral act? It must be a very refined metaphysic, surely, which shall legitimately discriminate between these so as to make the one moral and the other not.

We would then say at once that man is responsible for his

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belief as he is for his words or his deeds; because he can and does regulate his belief by his will. This doctrine does not, of course, exclude that action of the *affections* upon the decisions of the understanding on which Dr. Wardlaw has mainly grounded his argument. But it has the advantage of enabling us to take up a higher and a firmer position in dealing with the question of man's responsibility for his belief; for it justifies us in asserting that if a man does not believe a true statement, sufficient evidence for which is before him, the reason is either that he has never attended to its claims, or that, having attended to them, he *will* not yield to them but *refuses* to believe.*

In September 1825 Dr. Wardlaw received a letter from his friend the Rector of Bassingham, in the close of which the writer says:—"I wish I could show you (though I know you are no great reader of sermons) a Missionary sermon that was sent me from America, preached by a nephew of mine who is pastor of the first Baptist congregation in Boston. It is on the text 'The field is the world,' and is really very eloquent." Of the sermon thus commended, Dr. Wardlaw, ever alive to whatever could serve the sacred cause of missions, speedily procured a copy, and so charmed was he with it on perusal that he hastened to republish it with a recommendatory preface. It appeared first in 18mo, but in the course of a short time a second edition having been called for he re-issued it in 8vo. It has the title, "The Moral Dignity of the Missionary Enterprise; a sermon delivered before the Boston Missionary Society on the evening of October 26th, and before the Salem Bible Translation Society on the evening of November 4th, 1824. By F. Wayland Jun., Pastor of the first Baptist Church at Boston. Sixth edition, with a recommendatory preface by Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. Glasgow." Of this sermon the editor says:—"It is one of a high order—the production of a master mind—a mind that combines in no ordinary degree comprehensiveness in the general grasp of its subject with clear discernment in its minuter

* See Appendix H.

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parts; distinguished by the chastened brilliance of its imagination, the richness and energy of its powers of illustration and expression, as well as by the still higher qualities of the fervour of philanthropic zeal and the expansion of Christian charity." This eulogy though high will not be thought overstrained by those who peruse the discourse with candour, and can sympathize with the author's enthusiasm in the missionary cause. It must, as Dr. Wardlaw observes, "if the public delivery was at all in harmony with the matter and the style, have made a very vivid and mighty impression upon the hearers;" and there can be little doubt that in the bosoms of many who read it, through means of his republication of it in this country, it awakened fresh interest in the cause of missions, and quickened into action feelings and aspirations on behalf of that cause which might otherwise have remained dormant. I can from my own recollection attest its influence in one quarter. At the time of its appearance the University of St. Andrews contained many young men whose hearts had been interested in missions to the heathen by the eloquent expositions and appeals of Dr. Chalmers; and I can well remember the enthusiasm with which Wayland's discourse was received and read by them. I happened to be the possessor of the first copy which reached the town, and I have a vivid recollection of several of us meeting to read it aloud, and of the ardour with which we greeted its eloquent passages. After that it was borrowed, and borrowed, and borrowed, until at the close of the session it was in a state of such laceration that to have attempted to collect its fragments into an entire volume would have been as hopeless a task as was that of Isis when she sought to restore the dismembered body of Osiris. When it is remembered that among the youths who at this time so eagerly perused this sermon were Urquhart, Adam and Duff, it may well be believed that the publication of it had rendered no mean service to the cause it was designed to promote.

In the close of 1826 Dr. Wardlaw issued a second edition of his Discourses on Man's Responsibility for his Belief, with the

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addition of two Sermons on the Responsibility of the Heathen. These are founded on Rom. 2, 12-16, a passage of which they contain an able and felicitous exposition. The main object of the author in these discourses is to maintain that, as responsibility is according to privilege, the heathen must be held amenable to the divine judgment, seeing to all of them, even the most benighted, has enough of moral light been vouchsafed to enable them to discern between right and wrong. In the conclusion the author touches on the delicate question of the salvability of the heathen, and contends that there are certain hypothetical cases in which we are warranted in believing that a heathen ignorant of the gospel may be saved.

Some months after the publication of this volume the author on sending a copy of it to his friend Mr. Burder accompanied it with the following letter, which will furnish all the additional information regarding his occupations and interests this winter which can be supplied:—

Edinburgh, Wednesday Morning, May 2d, 1827.

My very dear Friend—I could not command leisure for writing before leaving home, which was at six o'clock on Monday morning; and *here*, as may be supposed, I can command as little. We have our Congregational Union and Theological Academy meetings here this week; and I was preaching at Haddington on Monday evening, and last evening at Leith. But I cannot allow the opportunity to pass of Mr. John Reid's* return to London, without sending you a copy of my last little volume, being a second edition of the *Brougham* sermons, with two additional ones, on a subject of much interest, on which your brother I perceive has been publishing an essay. I should like to have seen that essay before committing my own views to the public. I have referred to it in my short preface. I hope the sentiments of the discourses on heathen responsibility will be found by you such as your temperate and discriminative mind can subscribe to. If there be any points on which you would *differ* or *modify*, it will be esteemed a favour by me that you mention it, with all the freedom of true friendship.

I cannot yet tell you how the funds of the *Union* have come on for the last year; but, from the state of the times, I anticipate a considerable deficiency. The ladies have just had a *Bazaar* here for itinerancies in the Highlands and Islands, which has yielded, I understand, about £160. There have been *too many* of them now to admit of their being very productive.

There have been nine *regular* students in the Academy last winter.

* A young gentleman who had been resident in Dr. W.'s family during the college session.

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Several of them *very* promising young men, and all of them respectable in talent and qualifications. We expect the addition of one or two more at this time.

You will just be entering on the season of public business, and bustle, and benevolent enjoyment. I shall long for the accounts of this day's meeting;* though I do not presume there will be anything done much out of the ordinary course. The controversy has been a painful and sickening one; though I am satisfied, that under the overruling providence of Him to whom it belongs to educe good from evil, it will be ultimately productive of benefit to the great and good cause.

I hope the *last quarter* of the *revenue* of the Missionary Society has been such as in some degree to make up the deficiency of the former part of the year.

I left Mrs. W. and family tolerably well. Mrs. W. has not been of late very stout, and has been troubled a good deal with *headaches*, &c., and some of the young folks are far from being *Samsonian* in their constitutions. We intend going to the sea coast.

Most affectionate remembrances to dear Mrs. B., your family, and all the circle of beloved friends.—Yours most faithfully.

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* The meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

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CHAPTER X.

A. D. 1825—A. D. 1828.

In the letter quoted at the close of the preceding chapter Dr. Wardlaw makes reference to the existence of a controversy which he describes as "a painful and sickening one." The controversy thus designated was the famous Apocrypha controversy which was then raging in Scotland, and which had for some years previously involved the friends of Bible circulation both in England and Scotland in serious and even embittered dispute. The part which Dr. Wardlaw took in this controversy, though not very extensive, was yet sufficiently so to impose upon his biographer the necessity of presenting a brief sketch of its general features and progress.

The British and Foreign Bible Society had for many years enjoyed a career of almost uninterrupted prosperity. It had gradually drawn to it the affection and co-operation of good men of all denominations and in all parts of the Christian world. Of those who had at first opposed it, some had sunk into discomfited silence, and not a few had given in their adhesion to it. Its funds had gone on steadily augmenting; its operations had become gigantic; and the benefits it had been the means of securing had marked it out as one of the most potent auxiliaries to the cause of truth and godliness the world had ever seen. Its praise was in all men's mouths; and perhaps these praises were sometimes celebrated in strains hardly beseeming a mere human institution. It may be that on this account the first serious interruption of its career of triumph should have been permitted to arise from an internal cause—from an act of indiscretion

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which in their undue zeal and confidence its managers were led to commit.

According to the fundamental rule of the society, it stood pledged to circulate the Holy Scriptures alone, without note or comment. To this the Committee of management for many years religiously adhered; but having formed connections with various societies and individuals on the continent, belonging to churches which either admit the Apocryphal books into the canon, or commend the perusal of these along with the sacred books, they were persuaded to believe that it would be in vain to attempt to circulate the Bible on the continent if the Apocrypha was not inserted, and hence were led to devote portions of their funds to the printing and circulating of editions of the Scriptures, in some of which the Apocryphal books were interspersed among the canonical, whilst in others they were only appended. This having come to the knowledge of their constituency produced a strong excitement, especially in Scotland, where the deep Protestant feeling of the people is associated with a quick and jealous sense of the reverence due to the canonical Scriptures as the sole rule of faith and practice. Remonstrances were immediately addressed to the parent society from its auxiliaries in all parts of the country, among which those from Edinburgh and Glasgow were pre-eminent in force and firmness. For a little while the London committee seemed inclined to do battle in defence of the practice into which they had been drawn; but they speedily felt that their case was in this respect hopeless, and their only course was to succumb to the high-toned demands of their constituents. It would have been well, and might have averted much painful discussion and dissension had they done this in a more frank, cordial, and earnest manner than they did; for the policy they pursued of adopting resolutions that fell short of what was demanded of them—resolutions which they were obliged again and again to rescind, and which were in some instances expressed so ambiguously that it was left doubtful whether they did not still mean to resort covertly to the course they could no longer openly pursue—left upon the

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minds of many, especially in the north, where the intense and uncompromising genius of the people renders them abhorrent of dubious results in matters involving questions of principle, a painful feeling of distrust not easy to be eradicated. The effect of this was, that after they had been brought to concede all that, in the estimation of the majority of their constituents, could be required of them, there still remained a very large body, comprising the vast majority of the friends of Bible circulation in Scotland, who refused to return to friendly relations with the parent society, except upon conditions with which its directors could not comply.

The conditions proposed were—1. That the British and Foreign Bible Society should not only not circulate directly or indirectly the Apocrypha, but that it should withdraw from all connection of any kind with societies on the continent which circulated the Apocrypha, even in the way of employing them as agents to circulate its own pure Bibles; and 2. That the committee of management in London should be purged of the greater part of its members, whose places should be filled by persons in whom greater confidence could be placed by the friends of pure Bible circulation. On these two points the Edinburgh and Glasgow Societies took their stand, and having failed to extort from the London Committee concessions to such an extent, these two societies separated from the parent society and carried with them the greater part of its friends and supporters in the north.

And now began the bitterness and violence of the controversy. Up to this point the most entire unanimity had prevailed among the friends of the Bible in Scotland, in reference to the question between them and the London Committee. All agreed in denouncing the Apocrypha; all agreed in objecting to the Bible Society's employing any part of its funds in circulating the Apocrypha or in aiding others to do so; and all agreed in condemning their past conduct in this respect as a departure from the course to which by their fundamental principle they were pledged. But when, after having solemnly pledged themselves not to repeat this course nor in any way directly or indirectly to circulate the Apo-

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crypha, an attempt was made to extort from them humiliating confessions, to impose upon them restrictions which would curtail and cramp their efforts without being required by the engagements under which they had come, and to make alterations in the body entrusted with the management of their affairs such as would deprive the society of the services of some of its best and most efficient friends, whilst it inflicted upon them an unmerited stigma; there were not a few who felt that equity and charity alike forbade such extreme proceedings and imposed on them the duty of protesting against them. Hence when the majority in the Scottish Auxiliaries took the step of separating on the basis of these demands from the parent society, there were many throughout the country who dissented from such a step, and remained stedfast in their adherence to that institution. In this there seems nothing very flagitious; it was only what the parties were entitled in the exercise of their independent judgment to do, and what, supposing them sincere in their convictions, they were bound to do. But in the eyes of the majority their conduct appeared so enormous that it became necessary to proclaim against them war to the knife, and by all the resources of an unrelenting and censorious polemic to pour contempt on them and their cause. In the violent and protracted attack which ensued the Apocrypha was soon lost sight of; the sole question came to be whether the London Society were worthy of being trusted in the pledge it had given to the country; and this question, too narrow in itself to sustain a debate, speedily degenerated into one of mere national and personal rancour, exacerbated by differences of ecclesiastical belief and status. The chief actors in that scene of fierce and lawless assault have since then passed away, and it behoves us, therefore, to abstain from any individual censure. But viewing the controversy as a whole we may venture to say that perhaps the annals of controversy do not present another instance in which so much mental power, such indomitable pertinacity and such unscrupulous use of all the worst arts of debate were exhibited professedly for an end so insignificant.

Dr. Wardlaw, from his official position as one of the secre-

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taries of the Glasgow Auxiliary to the London Society, was necessarily drawn into this dispute. In common with all his brethren in the north, he strongly disapproved of the circulation of the Apocrypha by the Bible Society, and as early as the year 1824 he, in conjunction with one of his colleagues in the secretaryship, the late Dr. Heugh, drew up a private letter of remonstrance addressed to the parent Society, in which they expressed their deep concern at the tidings which had reached them respecting the Society's conduct in reference to the circulation of the Apocrypha—conduct which they stigmatised "as a very serious and flagrant infringement of the first grand principle of the Society's constitution—the circulation of the Bible alone without note or comment." During the protracted discussions and correspondence which ensued, after the conduct of the Society became matter of public notice, Dr. Wardlaw took an active part in expounding to the public, and in pressing upon the Directors in London, the views and wishes of the Committee of the Glasgow Auxiliary in reference to the subject in question; nor was it till the parent Society had adopted resolutions which seemed to him to concede all that could be reasonably required of them, that he was prepared or inclined to resume confidential relations with its committee of management.* What satisfied him, however, did not satisfy the majority of those associated with him in Glasgow; and accordingly, when the matter came to be decided by a vote in the Committee, he was left in a considerable minority. It then became necessary to refer the matter to a public meeting of their constituency;

* The resolutions adopted by the British and Foreign Bible Society were the following:—

"1. That the fundamental law of the Society, which limits its operations to the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, be distinctly recognised as excluding the circulation of the Apocrypha.

"2. That in conformity with the preceding resolution, no pecuniary aid can be granted to any society circulating the Apocrypha; nor, except for the purpose of being applied in conformity with the said resolution, to any individual whatever.

"3. That in all cases in which grants, whether gratuitous or otherwise, of the Holy Scriptures, either in whole or in part, shall be made to any society, the books be issued bound, and on the express condition that they shall be distributed without alteration or addition."

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and with a view of preparing the minds of the people for the decision to which they were thus about to be called, it was agreed that both parties should draw up a statement of their reasons for the conclusion to which respectively they had come. That of the majority was drawn up by Dr. Heugh and that of the minority by Dr. Wardlaw, and in order that each might state the views of his own party without being tempted to comment on those of the other, it was agreed that the two papers should be drawn up irrespectively of each other, and be read at the same meeting. This was accordingly done, and the two statements were then simultaneously issued through the press, and widely circulated. It is not easy to say which of them is most to be admired, whether as respects ability of statement or propriety of spirit. As the biographer of Dr. Heugh has justly remarked, "In connection with a controversy unhappily accompanied with too much 'bitterness and wrath and envy and evil-speaking,' it is pleasing to refer to this document, not only as containing in the compass of about eighty octavo pages the entire substance of the controversy on both sides, but as exhibiting, probably, an unexceptionable pattern of the spirit and manner in which such controversies ought to be conducted."*

When the public meeting to which the final decision was referred was held, it fell to the lot of the same two to open the discussion on their respective sides. Dr. Heugh having moved a resolution expressive of dissatisfaction with the resolutions of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and recommending the formation of an independent society in Glasgow, Dr. Wardlaw proposed as an amendment, "That in existing circumstances this meeting are of opinion that it will be more consistent with propriety and conducive to the interests of the great cause in which they are engaged, that the question of separation from the British and Foreign Bible Society be postponed till after the annual meeting of that institution in May next." A warm and protracted discussion ensued, in which the example of calm-

* Life of Hugh Heugh, D.D., &c. By his son-in-law, Hamilton M. Macgill. Vol. i. p. 215.

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ness and Christian courtesy set by the opening speakers was not very closely followed by all who succeeded them, and which ended in the rejection of Dr. Wardlaw's amendment by a large majority. The result was the formation of an independent society, while Dr. Wardlaw and those who agreed with him—amongst whom were Dr. Dick, Dr. Mitchell, Mr. Kidston, Mr. Ewing, and other men of leading position among the Dissenters in Glasgow—remained in their former position as Auxiliary to the British and Foreign Society.

Nothing gave Dr. Wardlaw greater pain in this matter than the separation between himself and Dr. Heugh in their official character as secretaries of the original Auxiliary. They were men naturally formed to love each other, and for many years they had co-operated with the utmost unity of purpose and sympathy of feeling. Their separation, however, on this occasion was only official. Throughout the protracted discussions which preceded the disruption of the Glasgow Auxiliary as well as during the years of strife that followed, they never forgot what was due to each other as gentlemen and as brethren; and when the tumult had passed away they were found as fast friends as before, if not more so. But Dr. Wardlaw has told the world himself this part of his history in an interesting paper of reminiscences which he sent to Dr. Heugh's biographer, and which is appended to his Life, and we shall therefore let him speak for himself.

With regard to the *first* of these—the British and Foreign Bible Society—my friend and I went on, with hearty hand-in-hand harmony, till the period of the *apocryphal controversy*. Then we differed; and, so far as that institution was concerned, parted company.—Not that, even here, there was any difference between us in principle. We were completely at one respecting the unwarrantableness of the circulation of the Apocrypha, and the consequent unjustifiableness of the Society's previous conduct in that department of its operations. Each of us maintained this as decidedly and warmly as the other. The sole point of divergence lay in the question—Whether, when the London committee, yielding to the public voice—the extensively consentaneous voice of a Protestant community, heard most loudly and most unitedly from Scotland—adopted its anti-apocryphal resolutions, engaging for the purity of its own circulation, and for the restriction of its funds to the aid of such circulation alone in time to come—confidence should not be reposed in the integrity of those resolutions, and whether, were that

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confidence reposed, the resolutions themselves were sufficiently stringent; so that, while a vigilant eye was kept on the committee's future proceedings, the auxiliaries might, with security to their conscientious scruples, rally around the parent Society as before. I make special reference to this subject, because, at the thronged and excited public meeting, held at the time in Glasgow to decide on this question, it so happened, that while, in my capacity of secretary to the Glasgow Auxiliary, I moved the resolution of confidence and adherence, my friend was the mover of the amendment, which proposed the severance of the Auxiliary, and the formation of a new and independent Bible Society for Glasgow. Many a time had we pleaded together, on the same platform, with "one heart and one soul," in behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society, as the grandest institution of our country and our age—the simplest in its principle, and the sublimest in its object. But now we stood apart and in opposition. I felt it painfully; and so, I cannot doubt, did he. Yet we were one in principle, and one in motive; and although, from diversity of judgment, the principle and the motive impelled us different ways, we had an equally firm conviction of each other's conscientiousness. Never was assembly in a state of more intense excitement. The amendment carried with it the overwhelming majority. And I mention the circumstance the rather, because, deeply as I regretted the position which my friend then took, and the loss, though not to the cause of Bible circulation, yet to the interests of the best and greatest of earthly associations, of his able and effective advocacy and aid—and frequent and earnest as were my wishes for his return to alliance in this cause with the great body of his dissenting brethren; yet the difference, although it so far abridged our intercourse, and loosened one of the ties by which we were bound together, did not in the least interfere with friendly feeling, or diminish the cordiality of our co-operation in other departments of Christian benevolence.*

In those days Scotland was held to its good behaviour in all matters religious and ecclesiastical under penalty, in case of transgression, of being done to the death in the pages of a periodical bearing the title of the Christian Instructor, and appearing monthly at Edinburgh. Of the immense power with which this journal was conducted, so long as it was under the management of its original editor, the late Dr. Andrew Thomson, minister of St. George's, Edinburgh, there can be no question; nor will any candid man deny that a deep debt is due to it for important services rendered to the cause of evangelical truth, of good morals and of popular rights in Scotland. But if the editor knew the excellence of "having a giant's strength," he had unfortunately not learned that "it is tyrannous to use it like a giant;" and in the enthusiasm of conflict he was probably not aware how deep and

* Heugh's Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 530, 531.

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rankling were the wounds which his heavy hand and trenchant sword oftentimes inflicted. When the Apocrypha controversy broke out, the Instructor assumed to itself the office of champion on the side of the opponents of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and for many years its editor sustained with unabated strength, and with a fierceness which has no parallel in modern times, the cause he had embraced. Whatever was uttered either orally or from the press in favour of the London Society or its committee was almost sure to be subjected in next month's Instructor to a fiery ordeal, from which it was not suffered to escape whilst there remained a possibility of extorting from its unlucky author another groan. As might be expected, a document so important as that issued by the Glasgow adherents to the London Society would not be allowed to pass unnoticed, and it was accordingly reviewed in the Instructor for November 1826 with the utmost severity, of which Dr. Wardlaw—as the avowed author of that statement, as well as of a letter to the editor of the Instructor in defence of part of it which had been assailed in the number for the previous month—came in for his full share. I suppose a man must feel rather uncomfortable after being pelted with such a shower of all sorts of missiles as the editor of the Instructor was wont to pour upon those whom he attacked; but after all, such things do no permanent harm; the dirt dries and may be brushed off; and a man like Dr. Wardlaw could afford to await the time when, the force of such blindly furious assaults having been expended, common sense and common justice would re-assert their predominancy in the public mind, and justice should be done to assailer as well as assailed.

After the secession from the Glasgow Auxiliary of the party opposed to the British and Foreign Bible Society, Dr. Wardlaw continued to act as secretary to the Auxiliary, but beyond issuing two letters addressed to him by Mr. Thomas Pell Platt, explanatory of some matters of fact brought into question by the editor of the Christian Instructor, to which he prefixed some brief prefatory remarks, he took no farther part in the Apocryphal controversy, though often furnished with suffi-

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cient occasion, had he wanted it, by the attacks of the other party. "Time," he said, "will prove our ground better than further strife;"* and so he allowed the storm to expend itself while he "pursued the even tenor of his way," occupied in those efforts of Christian usefulness which provoke no malevolent emotions in their performance, and are followed by results that can be looked back upon without remorse or pain.

During the winter of 1827 and the early part of 1828 Dr. Wardlaw was busily engaged in preparing for the press a new and enlarged edition of his Discourses on the Socinian Controversy. With this edition were incorporated those parts of the author's reply to Mr. Yates which appeared to him of permanent value, and besides this, considerable additions were made both to the text of the Discourses and to the Notes, whilst several of the notes of the former editions were rescinded as appearing to be of only temporary interest. The most important additions were made to that part of the volume which treats of the subject of atonement, an entirely new Discourse being introduced here, and one of those formerly existing being considerably augmented. The subject of the new Discourse is, "The Connexion between the Doctrine of our Lord's Divinity and the sufficiency and efficacy of his Sacrifice; or, in other words, on the question whether that sufficiency and efficacy arose exclusively from the appointment of God, or, along with such appointment, from the intrinsic value of the offering; and whether, consequently, the divine dignity of the Redeemer being admitted, a redemption of inferior worth was at all supposable or possible —a discussion," the author continues, "from which I should be sorry that any reader were scared by the appearance it may have to his mind of unprofitableness or presumption; for if I may at all judge of others by myself, it will be found, in no inferior degree, under some especially of its aspects, both interesting and beneficial, and withal in perfect harmony with that unpresuming lowliness of spirit which shrinks from intruding into the 'secret things that belong unto the Lord,' from

* Preface to Platt's second letter.

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attempting to penetrate beyond the sacred limits of divine discovery!"* Prefixed is a lengthened preface in which, besides specifying such peculiarities as give a distinctive character to this new edition, the author enters on some explanatory statements in reference to his treatment of Mr. Yates's Sequel to his Vindication,† and in reference to his views of the pernicious and hateful character of Socinian and Unitarian opinions. On this head he held no dubious or compromising position. Whatever might be his feelings towards Unitarians themselves, and however earnestly he might strive to avoid all that might indicate any disregard for their feelings, he wished it to be distinctly understood that towards their system he had no feeling but one, "that of serious and settled abhorrence." "Regarding it," he says, "as a system which selects for denial and proscription everything that I conceive to be distinctive of Christianity—which divests it of all its principles of moral and spiritual influence—which destroys the hopes of a guilty world by subverting and sweeping with the besom of destruction their only foundation—which, in a word, annihilates the gospel; with what other sentiments than those of grief and horror can I possibly contemplate it?" In connection with this subject the author goes on to animadvert on some sentiments uttered by a Mr. Taylor, a Unitarian minister in Manchester, in a sermon entitled, "On Communion with Unbelievers"—sentiments going to show that the only thing of essential importance in religion is a sincere love of truth and moral goodness, and that as this may coexist with any amount of ignorance or disbelief of Christianity, it is wrong for professing Christians to hold themselves aloof from religious communion with deists. After criticising this extraordinary statement, Dr. Wardlaw justly remarks in conclusion:—"Unitarians were greatly offended when their system was denominated the *half-way-house* between true Christianity and deism; we must now be pardoned if not from our conviction only, but upon their own show-

* Preface, p. xvii.

† The most important part of these have been quoted in an earlier part of this volume, see p. 160.

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ing, we place it a good many stages nearer to the end of the journey."*

The edition of the Discourses thus carefully revised and enlarged was the *fourth*. It constitutes the standard edition of the work; for though others have since appeared the author made no subsequent alterations upon either text or notes.

In the spring of 1828 Dr. Wardlaw visited Leeds on a public errand, and again in the following June he was absent from home for several weeks, fulfilling engagements at Manchester on behalf of the London Missionary Society, and subsequently in London making collections for the Congregational Union of Scotland. His success in the last-named mission was such that he transmitted to the treasurer a sum exceeding £490. His devotion to his object whilst in the metropolis led some of his kind friends in the family of Mr. Dewar, who would fain have had more of his society than he could give, to bring playfully against him the charge of being "greedy of filthy lucre"—a charge which, as will be seen from letters about to be quoted, greatly amused him, and to which, with the consciousness that it touched no real characteristic of his nature, he was fond of playfully pleading guilty. In reference to this visit to London and its results the committee of the Congregational Union thus speak in their report for 1829:—

Your committee cannot easily express the obligations under which they lie to their much valued friend for his exertions; nor the gratitude which the Union, and Scotland itself, owe to the many hearty and liberal contributors to the cause of Christian benevolence which were found in London and other places. In reference to the kind reception which Dr. W. met, it is but fair that he should be allowed to speak for himself. In a letter written after his return, he says—

"I am sorry my time was so late in the season; this was much against the collections. I experienced in all quarters the utmost degree of Christian kindness towards myself personally, and of cheerful readiness to promote the object; and the enjoyment of the friendly intercourse of fellow-christians, all one in Christ Jesus, and feeling their union wherever they meet, together with the pleasing anticipation of the good that might be effected by the application of the gifts of Christian charity, formed the chief compensation for the pain of absence from my family and my flock. Such intercourse does one's heart good. It enlivens and stimulates—'Whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage.'

"I felt particularly grateful on behalf of the Union to those ministers

* Preface, p. xxxi.

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and other friends, who both previously and subsequently to my arrival, assisted in making the necessary arrangements; and of the few refusals received from ministers, &c., on application for collections, the reasons assigned were, with hardly I think an exception, cogent and satisfactory, and the regret expressed sincere. On the whole, we owe a debt of gratitude to the friends in the South, which I hope our churches will, on suitable occasions, show a readiness to meet and repay. I should have mentioned among the friends who aided me in my arrangements, the Rev. Drs. Winter and Henderson, Messrs. H. F. Burder, Orme, Henry, Miller, R. Philip Morison, and Mr. Joshua Wilson. I cannot but mention also, my esteemed friend and relative, Robert Dewar, Esq. of Clapham, who kindly relieved me of all inconvenience with my money concerns, and, with his family, put himself both to trouble and expense, with a most hearty good will both for my personal accommodation and the promotion of my object. There is *one donation*, too, which stands so pre-eminently conspicuous, that it would be shameful to pass it over without stating, that a like sum of *Fifty pounds* was given by the same gentleman for another object—the building of a Gaelic Independent Chapel in Glasgow; and that both sums were contributed as the result of deliberate inquiry, and with a cheerful simplicity and ease which doubled their value. He is himself a member of the Church of England."*

Before setting out on this journey Dr. Wardlaw wrote to his friend Mr. Wayland a letter in which, after apologising for not having written sooner (a very common introduction to Dr. Wardlaw's epistles), he thus continues:—

Glasgow, June 6th, 1828.

. . . . . .

I have often drawn largely on the faith of my friends; and I must do them the justice to say, I have generally found them much more liberal in their credit than I had any title to expect. I hope *you* too will, in the present instance (as I daresay I may have required of you before), believe against evidence, and give me credit for what I can honestly assure you exists, unabated attachment. Part of my occupation during the past winter has been enlarging and carrying through the press a *fourth edition* of the Discourses on Socinianism. A copy of this edition will accompany this letter, though I fear I may not get it inscribed, as I leave home on Monday, and set off for Manchester on Wednesday by the steam-packet from Greenock. Thence I proceed to London, &c., and shall be about seven weeks away. I collect in the Metropolis for Itinerancies in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland by our Congregational Union. If I find I can possibly get to Bassingham in going or returning, I shall count it a great pleasure; and I hope, notwithstanding all my misdemeanours, you will not shut your doors against me. I have said I go *from home* on Monday; but the truth is, I should rather say I go *to* home; for I count home where my dear family are, and they are now at the sea-side, whither I go on Monday to see them all before going south. I have not been able to get down either last week or this. At Manchester I attend the annual meeting of the Missionary Society.

Yesterday we had a public sermon from Mr. Irving for the schools of St.

* Seventeenth Annual Report of the Congregational Union for Scotland, p. 20.

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John's Parish. He entered largely into his views of the Millenium, our Lord's personal advent, &c. The sermon was long, and to me very unsatisfactory, except indeed as contributing more than ever to convince me that the notions he has adopted are without foundation in justly interpreted and duly compared Scripture. The argumentative parts were loose, the declamatory theatrical and extravagant, his asseverations were dogmatical and vehement in proportion to the flimsiness of his ground, and some of his statements at variance with every view I have been accustomed to hold from the Scriptures of the nature of the Christian Church. I should not regard the world's ridicule as to any views that are legitimately drawn from the Sacred Word. We are taught to look for it. But I *do* deeply regret those extravagancies by which that ridicule is justly incurred, and by which men are tempted to disregard a book which they are led to fancy can contain nothing of sober certainty, but room for the speculations of every wild visionary. I am far from intending this designation for Mr. I., though in some points he makes some approach to deserving it. I certainly did feel thankful for any little measure of calm sober-mindedness which God has given me. On *this* side again I dread an approach to *apathy*. My kindest regards to Mrs. W. and family.—Yours, &c.

About the time of Dr. Wardlaw's visit to London on this occasion the council of the new London University were anxiously occupied in selecting fit persons to fill the chairs in the college they had erected. One of their number, was the late Zachary Macaulay, Esq.—a man whose name will probably be best known to posterity in connection with that of his illustrious son, but who had many claims on the respect and esteem of his cotemporaries for his ready zeal, his unwearied activity and his skilful management in all schemes of Christian and general beneficence. With him Dr. Wardlaw had enjoyed friendly intercourse for many years, arising out of their mutual interest in the Bible Society and other philanthropic schemes; and the estimate which Mr. Macaulay had thereby been led to form of Dr. Wardlaw was such that he fixed upon him as one eminently qualified to fill the Chair of Mental and Moral Philosophy in the new institution. His views on this subject seem to have been communicated to Dr. Wardlaw after he had left London through his friend Mr. Dewar, to whom the following letters were addressed by him in reply.

To Robert Dewar, Esq.

Liverpool, July 30th, 1828.

My very dear Friend—I received your most affectionate and friendly letter in Manchester on Monday evening. I left Manchester for this yesterday morning before I had sufficient time to think of its contents so as to

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give anything like a deliberate reply. I certainly do feel it an honour to have been thought of at all for such a situation by such a man as Mr. Macaulay. I had often spoken of the Moral Phil. Chair in the London University; and on the very day on which your letter arrived had been expressing to my friend Mr. M'All the great solicitude I felt that a charge of such high importance should be committed to some one by whom the great principles of morals would be treated in a manner consonant with the peculiar discoveries of revelation. But it was not till I read your letter that the association of my own name with the situation was ever, in the remotest or most transitory manner, introduced into my mind. The thought was utterly novel and strange. I do look upon the situation as one of *immense* consequence. I do not at present feel as if I were at all competent to fill it. It is possible at the same time that by some degree of close application I might be able so far to qualify myself for the fulfilment of its duties as not utterly to disgrace it—or rather to disgrace myself. My present impression, however, is that I have devoted my life to the gospel and to the service of the church for Jesus' sake. I do not feel as if I could justify myself to my Master should I relinquish the ministry of his Word for a Professor's Chair, however useful the latter situation might be, and however analogous its engagements with those of that ministry, and however consistent with its occasional exercise. No. There are various views in which the matter presents itself to my mind, into which I cannot at present enter; but they seem almost all with one voice to say No. Seeing, however, the situation in question is one of such real importance and usefulness, and it might become a ground of serious reflection to me afterwards should my refusal be the means of filling the chair with Antichristian principles, I shall further consider, consult, and pray at home, and send you as soon as possible after my arrival a decided reply.

I should have rejoiced to have seen you again in Liverpool; but this letter is necessarily too late for bringing about our meeting.

Again present my most affectionate regards to the dear domestic circle at Larkhall Grove; and the same to your beloved Sarah when you see her, and to your old aunt, towards whom you cherish so becoming a solicitude of kind affection.

I preach this evening—Graves. So your saucy girls may see that my greed of filthy lucre is not so all-absorbing as to shut my mouth unless I can make a penny by the opening of it.

Farewell, my very dear and kind friend.—Yours, &c.

To the Same.

Clough, August 13th, 1828.

My very dear Friend— . . . . . .

Now for the principal subject of your communication to Manchester. I am very deeply impressed with the importance of the situation as a sphere of usefulness, especially as it does not preclude the occasional or even stated preaching of the gospel; although with my notions of *pluralities* a pastoral charge would be out of the question. I do not enter at present into the various aspects under which it has presented itself to my mind. My object now is—my mind being so impressed that I dare not dismiss it without examining it on all sides—to ascertain one or two points relative

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to the situation—and especially *when* the Professor elect is expected to begin lecturing. Is it in the immediately ensuing session? or is it not till the one following? How long does the session last, and how many hours of attendance are required each day? And I trust you will not consider me as *keeping up my character* and "greedy of filthy lucre," but only as desirous to know what it is indispensably necessary I should know, and to be able to give a fair representation of the claims of the situation as a sphere of usefulness, when I add, what number of students are conceived likely to attend, upon a moderate estimate, and whether the salary is attached to the chairs, or each professor left to depend on the fees of his class? In putting these questions, I am neither presumptuously assuming on the one hand any certainty of others agreeing in Mr. Macaulay's favourable opinion, nor, on the other, to be understood as in the slightest degree pledging myself that, even were there a unanimous concurrence and invitation, I should accept. I only wish to have all the items of the case before me, that I may give it due deliberation. There is no one at home to whom I have yet mentioned the matter at all, except Mrs. W.

Will you present my grateful and affectionate regards to Mr. Macaulay when you see him; and obtain as early a reply as you can to my queries; if indeed the situation still remains open.

Mrs. W. and all here unite in very best wishes for yourself, Mrs. D. and family. Their regards are not the less cordial from the renewed accounts I have given them of all the kind attentions experienced by one so dear to them in Larkhall Grove.—Yours, &c.

Whether anything more was done in the matter to which these letters principally relate I have not been able to ascertain. In a letter from Mr. Macaulay to Dr. Wardlaw, relating to Bible Society business, and dated "London, 21st October 1828," he, in a postscript, simply refers to it as a subject of which he has not lost sight, but on which he is not yet in a capacity to communicate with him. Beyond this I find no further reference to it among Dr. Wardlaw's papers. It is probable that the proposal was dropt at his own request; for important as the contemplated post was, and admirably fitted as Dr. Wardlaw was to fill it, there can be little doubt that had he left his position in Glasgow for that purpose, he would have made an exchange for the worse in every point of view; and of this probably he became sufficiently convinced, to decline any further entertaining of the matter.

What confirms this view is, that he declined another situation which was at this time actually offered to him and urged on his acceptance, on the ground that his sphere in Glasgow was too important to be vacated by him except for the most

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cogent reasons. This situation was that of President and Theological Tutor of the Dissenting College at Rotherham, along with the pastorate of the Independent Church at Masbro', in the vicinity of the college. These conjoined offices had formerly been held by one to whom Dr. Wardlaw was in many respects indebted as a theologian, the profound, acute and pious Dr. Edward Williams; and they were now vacant in consequence of the resignation of Dr. Williams' successor, Dr. James Bennett, whose "praise is in all the churches," and who still, in a green old age, is able to serve his master in the ministry of the gospel. The invitation to the Theological chair in the College was conveyed to Dr. Wardlaw in a letter from Henry Walker, Esq., the treasurer of the institution, and that to the pastorate of the church, by Dr. Bennett and one of the deacons, in the name of the church. To these communications Dr. Wardlaw, after due deliberation, transmitted the following reply:—

To Joseph Reid, Esq., Wincobank, Sheffield.

Glasgow, October 24, 1828.

Dear Sir—By desire of Mr. Henry Walker, I address this letter to *you*. I duly received his of the 15th inst., written in name and by appointment of the Committee of the Rotherham Independent College, intimating what I was much concerned to hear, that its highly and justly esteemed Theological Tutor had been under the necessity, in the providence of God, of resigning his situation in consequence of declining health, and conveying to me the invitation of the Committee to be his successor.

The Committee would have reason to charge me with both ingratitude and affectation were I to say any thing else than that I am sensible of no small honour having been put upon me by an invitation so unanimous to a situation so important, and which has been so ably filled by the present (or rather I suppose I must already say the *late*) incumbent. Yet I am almost sorry they have thought of me, because, however much I may be gratified by the good opinion of my Christian friends and brethren, they lay me under the necessity of putting to the pain of disappointment those whom it should be my wish to gratify in return. I have now been here for more than twenty-five years, the pastor of a large and prospering church, from whom I have received every mark of attachment. My congregation is numerous; and my labours, I trust, have not been altogether without the divine blessing. For the last fourteen or fifteen years I have had the joint tutorship, with my highly valued colleague Mr. Ewing, of an institution of the same general nature with that to which I am now invited, in which the number of students has fluctuated, and will this winter be nine or ten, besides several *hearers*. It would be foolish to say that I am immovable. But the call in providence to quit such a situation would require to present very decidedly superior pros-

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pects of usefulness to justify me to my own conscience, to the church, to the world, and above all, to my Master, in forsaking it. The Committee must look elsewhere; and I am sure there are not a few in the south well able to fill the situation with credit to themselves, and with benefit to the institution and to the cause of God. It is my prayer that He may guide them to a more worthy choice in a matter of so very great consequence.

Present my kind Christian regards to your treasurer Mr. Walker, and to all the members of Committee, and assure them of my gratitude and best wishes. And believe me to be, &c.

Have the goodness to present my affectionate good wishes to your Classical Tutor, my esteemed friend Mr. Smith, and to his excellent lady.

A few weeks before receiving the invitation to which this letter is the reply, Dr. Wardlaw was called to perform the painful duty of preaching the funeral sermon for the wife of his esteemed friend and colleague Mr. Ewing. This excellent lady, whose devoted zeal and unwearied labours in the cause of Christ were beyond all praise, came by her death under circumstances of a peculiarly painful kind. A near relative of hers, Mr. Cathcart, who had recently returned from India, being with his wife on a visit at Mr. Ewing's, a party was formed to go to the Falls of Clyde, near Lanark, consisting of these friends, Mr. and Mrs. Ewing, and her cousin Miss Cathcart. The day was fine, and for the sake of enjoying the air and the scenery, the carriage in which they made the excursion was open at the top. All went well till they had nearly reached the spot where they were to leave the carriage to proceed on foot to the Falls, when, on descending a declivity on the edge of a steep bank, the carriage was suddenly swept off the road and hurled over the precipitous descent, down which it rolled till stopt by some trees. All the party were thrown violently out of it, and were all more or less injured. Mr. Ewing had his collar-bone fractured; Miss Cathcart was crushed under the carriage and severely bruised; Mr. and Mrs. Cathcart were both seriously injured; and Mrs. Ewing had her leg broken above the ankle. The rest of the party ultimately recovered from the effects of the injuries they had sustained, but Mrs. Ewing expired on the morning of the following Sabbath after manifesting the most beautiful composure and Christian resignation amid her sufferings. A great sensation

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was produced by this melancholy event, not only through the circle of her immediate relationship, but in the city generally, and through all the Congregational Churches of Scotland, of which she had long been the zealous and devoted friend. To improve so striking an occurrence, and so painful a dispensation, was in every respect most desirable; and with this view, on the following Sabbath Dr. Wardlaw appeared in the pulpit of his bereaved colleague. His text on this occasion was 1 Cor. xv. 23, "Christ the first fruits; afterward they that are Christ's at his coming." The sermon, besides an able exposition and illustration of the text, contained a touching and just delineation of the leading excellences of Mrs. Ewing's character especially as a Christian, and breathed the spirit of sincerest sympathy with her bereaved relations, and especially with him on whom the bereaving stroke had fallen most heavily, "in whose spirit the wound was the deepest, in whose social enjoyment the desolation was the dreariest." The sermon was published immediately afterwards under the title "'Christ the First Fruits:' A sermon preached in Nile Street Chapel, Glasgow, in the afternoon of Lord's Day, Sept. 21, 1828, on occasion of the lamented death of Mrs. Greville Ewing."

This painful event, which left an ineffaceable mark on Mr. Ewing, tended to give a deeper tenderness to the affection which had so long subsisted between him and Dr. Wardlaw. It was now the part of the latter, on many grounds, to take the lead in matters of common interest; and never was priority ceded with more graceful readiness, or its duties assumed with more unaffected simplicity and unobtrusiveness than in the case of these two men. Whilst Mr. Ewing, like one on whom the hand of the Lord had been heavy, retired more and more into the shade, his colleague seemed ever increasingly solicitous to relieve him of toil and responsibility, and yet to allow as much as possible the love and homage of the public to flow to him as aforetime. The picture was as fine a one of the kind as it is permitted us in this imperfect state to witness, and no man was privileged to observe it without being moved by it—sometimes even to tears.

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CHAPTER XI.

A. D. 1829—A. D. 1832.

THE year 1829 was one of no small stir and interest in the family of Dr. Wardlaw. During the earlier part of it he was much occupied in literary work. In the month of March he contributed an Introductory Essay to Doddridge's Practical Discourses on Regeneration, which formed one of the series of select Christian authors issued by Mr. Collins of Glasgow; and after that was published he set himself to prepare for the press a volume of sermons. His Essay prefixed to Doddridge has very much the air of having been originally also a sermon; it is devoted to showing that a change of heart, a restoration to holiness is a necessary part of salvation, and that to which pardon and justification are designed to lead. It is ably written, and forms a natural, instructive and pleasing introduction to the discourses of Doddridge. The collected sermons appeared in July. They had been for the most part delivered in the ordinary course of the author's ministry, but one or two of them had been called forth by special public occasions. Of the latter two have reference to the views of the Millenarians—views which had been brought into vivid prominence and endowed with new life by the preaching of Mr. Irving, to which Dr. Wardlaw refers in a letter quoted in the preceding chapter. These two sermons are of peculiar value—the former for the exposition it contains of a very difficult and much canvassed passage of Scripture, Rom. viii. 19-21; the latter for the clear, cogent, and satisfactory statement which it presents of the difficulties that lie in the way of the doctrine of a personal reign of our Lord on the earth for

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a thousand years. To the reasonings of this masterly discourse, no competent answer has ever been given; and the important changes which Millenarians have of late made in the ground they assume, may probably be traced to their feeling that their former position was untenable in the face of the objections which Dr. Wardlaw has urged. Of the other sermons in this volume, the greater part are occupied in the discussion of important questions in theology and the spiritual life, though ever with a practical bearing such as befits a sermon. A valuable discourse on Justification by Faith leads to one still more valuable on Justification by Works, in which the author proposes his method of reconciling the doctrine of Paul and the doctrine of James on the subject of justification. But perhaps the most valuable, certainly not the least able sermons in the volume, are those on 1 John iv. 18, "Perfect love casteth out fear." In these the author, with a firm and discriminating hand, analyses the various sources of spiritual doubt and fear in believers, and vindicates Christianity from the charge of producing such feelings by the views it gives of the sovereignty of God and his dealings with his people. I cannot but believe that these discourses are replete with the materials of instruction and comfort to multitudes of God's people, who, from ignorance or misapprehension of the truths they illustrate, walk in darkness, and are oppressed with spiritual anxiety when they might be rejoicing in God, and serving him with unburdened spirits.

Whilst carrying this volume through the press Dr. Wardlaw was called to pass through one of those vicissitudes of domestic life which in their mingled attributes of joy and sorrow touch with peculiar force the sensibilities of the heart. It has been already mentioned that he was in the habit of receiving into his family young gentlemen as boarders, whose studies he directed, and over whose interests, intellectual and moral, he watched. Between one of these—who had for some years previous to the date at which we have arrived been residing under his roof, and whose name occurs in one of the letters quoted in last chapter—and his eldest daughter a mutual affection had grown up; and

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now he was summoned to yield up this dearly cherished child to the care and affection of another. What rendered the trying part of this more severe was that the gentleman who sought Miss Wardlaw's hand had devoted himself to the missionary work, and was about to proceed to India as the sphere of his labour, whither he of course proposed to carry her with him. This was a trial to parental affection such as those who have experienced it can alone estimate; but there was much on the other hand to cheer and gladden in the proposed union. John Reid, the gentleman in question, was a man cast in nature's finest mould—a man pleasant to look upon, whose countenance was the index of the sweetest temper and the kindliest heart—a man of cultivated intellect, graceful manners and high-toned sentiment, and one in whose bosom divine grace had so lodged its treasures that a sweet religiousness seemed diffused around his entire being and activity. To such an one Dr. and Mrs. Wardlaw felt that they could cheerfully yield up their beloved child to go with him whithersoever his Master should call him. They were married on the 29th of July 1829, and sailed for India in the following September.

The following extracts from Dr. Wardlaw's correspondence will serve as the best illustration of his history at this period.

To the Rev. Dr. Leonard Woods.

Glasgow, June 16th, 1829.

Rev. and very dear Sir— . . . . . .

Do realise your project of paying a visit to this country. It will give myself and family much gratification to see you; and I trust you would meet with a cordial reception from fellow-labourers and fellow-christians generally. We have been hearing of late, and hearing with much interest and delight, of what the Lord has been doing for America. Would that He would visit his churches in this quarter with some similar manifestations of his favour. The *revivals* in the New World have excited a great deal of attention and discussion, particularly in England, and have given rise to a considerable variety of productions from the press. Of these I shall send you one, with which I hope you will be pleased as it bears the name of *Wardlaw*, being the work of my *nephew*, who has been for several years pastor of one of the Independent churches in Edinburgh. Among other points of view, in which I cannot but regard America at present with peculiar interest, this is one—that an important experiment is going on there on a large scale, of what Christianity when fairly excited can effect by her own native energies in the support and pro-

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pagation of her cause, independently of the aids of civil power. I look to it in this view with high expectation, as I think it of vast consequence that a new practical manifestation of this should be given to the world.

I thank you for the *peep* you have given me into your domestic circle. I delight in this. There is true friendship in it; and it shows, besides, that you have formed no unfavourable estimate of my paternal character; for you would not have written so, had you not anticipated in my heart a fellow-feeling with your own. And I think, if I know myself, you have not erred in this estimate. I am a domestic man—very fond of my family, and my family very fond of me. (Now don't say, "He's somewhat of an *egotist* too, methinks;" for in that I hope you would be wrong.) So I must introduce you to them in return. Mrs. W. has had *eleven* children. Of these, *two* are with God. They died in infancy. We have now been many years without any visitation of this kind, though not, of course, without occasional domestic trials. My eldest is a girl. In three months hence she leaves us for Bellary in the East Indies as the wife of a missionary—an excellent youth who has been an inmate in my family for five winters attending college, &c., and whose heart has been all along set on missionary labour. He is a son of Mr. William Reid, a merchant in London. The attachment has been mutually formed under my roof; and she is of one spirit with him. She has been a member of the church for a good many years. I shall not expatiate on the very mingled feelings with which Mrs. W. and myself anticipate such a parting. But we have given her up to the Lord, and to the very best of causes—a cause of which the results will remain in eternity, not merely when *we* shall have quitted the world, but when the world itself shall be no more. Mrs. Woods and you may just look into your own hearts as *parents* and as *Christians*, and read our feelings there. Sympathize with us both in our sorrow and our joy, and pray for us and for our dear child (my heart and eyes fill while I write of her) and her beloved partner. I need not tell you *what to ask*. You may consult the same oracle. My eldest son is articled to an attorney, with whom he has been three years, and has two of his term of apprenticeship to run. He is domestic and sober in his outward conduct, and very attentive to business; but as yet without the grace of God. But he, like the rest, has been the child of many prayers. His example is of much consequence; and I look to him with affectionate solicitude. My second daughter has been for some time past decidedly thoughtful, and I fondly hope and trust, although she has not yet made an open profession, that she is a partaker of the grace of the gospel. My second son has gone through his first session at College. He is a youth of fine engaging dispositions as well as of very respectable talents; and I hope not entirely inconsiderate of the best of all knowledge. The younger ones I must merely mention generally—one boy and four girls. They are all in course of education; and in some of them I have much delight. To two of them God has not been pleased to impart that measure of understanding with which he has blessed the rest. O that he may number them all amongst his own children!

The account you give of your own institution, and of the literary seminaries of your country generally, is most cheering. Of what immense consequence is it, not only to the pupils themselves under instruction, but for the moral and religious interests of a community, dependent as they must be to such an extent upon their future influence, that a spirit of *godliness*

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should be infused into such institutions. I had seen from American papers some time since, with emotions of lively satisfaction, the rapid advances made in Boston and the vicinity by evangelical religion in distinction from that utter subversion of all that is gospel in the Bible, Unitarianism. I rejoice to see from your letter these representations confirmed. I took down with me last week,* the reports of your *Temperance Society*, which is quite a new thing to me. From what you say of its effects already, and of what it promises of future benefit, I mean to examine its constitution and proceedings carefully, and judge whether anything of the same kind may be attempted here. There is much need for it. The reduction some time ago in the price of spirits from the removal of the duties, produced a most observable change to the worse in this department of morals.

You ask my judgment of Mr. Erskine's last little work. I cannot of course enter into the topics of which it treats. All I can say is, that I have seldom if ever perused a book with more mingled feelings, of approbation and disapprobation, delight and sorrow. I love the man. Every one that knows him must love him. I looked upon his works on account of their coming from an educated and accomplished layman, and of the style in which they were written, in which there is so much of taste and elegance of mind, as eminently fitted to do good in a particular circle of society. I was therefore grieved that there should be any statements in that little publication, and on such a subject, such as I could not approve, and such as might lead the careless to say, from the new nomenclature which, in regard to particular terms, he introduces, and from other circumstances—"There is no fixing this Bible of yours to any definite meaning; every pretender to original thinking finds something new in it, and explains it differently from his predecessors." You will see that I refer especially to his views of *pardon* and collateral topics, with which I cannot agree, and which I think confused and hardly consistent with themselves. But then there is so much that is excellent; many of his illustrations are so exquisitely fine; and there is such a tone of humble, tender, delightful feeling, as well as of pure, and lofty, and sublime devotion runs through it—something in all his exhibitions of the Divine Being that makes you feel at the same moment your immeasurable distance and your gracious nearness, filling the soul at once with humble, solemn awe, and with filial delight, and joy, and melting affection—that one hardly knows how to find fault. He was a hearer of mine one day some little time—perhaps six weeks ago—and he came into the vestry and walked part of the way home with me. But we could only break ground on the subject, and leave it. He was then unshaken in his sentiments. I believe he is enlarging for next edition.

You ask how Dr. Chalmers is succeeding in his new office. You must be aware, I presume, of his having filled last winter the *divinity chair* in the Metropolitan University. That class has risen from the dead. From a state of sad declension and inefficiency, it is now crowded and animated. I have no doubt that he will do great good. My only fear is, the raising up of a host of injudicious and incompetent imitators, who will easily catch and caricature his faults, with no power even to come near a resemblance to one of his excellences. That will be a shocking *bore*. Procul—O Procul!

I have the pleasure to say that the churches here enjoy peace and com-

* To the sea coast, where his family was residing.

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fort, and some measure of prosperity and increase. That under my own pastoral care has had for some time past a succession of very pleasing additions, mostly young persons, and some of them have been the fruits of my own ministry—several having been impressed especially by a series of discourses on Joshua xxiv. 16, "Chuse ye whom ye will serve," &c. We lately had the annual meeting of our Congregational Union for Scotland, which was a very cheering one. It was held in Edinburgh. The report is not yet printed, else I should have sent it. The Institution not only aids the poor churches in remote parts of the country, but does a great deal in the way of supporting itinerancies, &c., in the destitute parts of Scotland, especially the Highlands and Islands. I collected for it last year, chiefly in London, about £500, and including this sum, the funds for the past year amounted to £1500.

And now my dear and valued friend and brother (for such, from the strain of your correspondence, I cannot but esteem you), I must draw to a close. I have written hastily, and you must excuse scrawling and inaccuracies. My heart cleaves to you, as you say yours does to me; and I cordially unite with you in all your anticipations of the fellowship of that blessed world, where there shall be nothing to mar or even to interrupt the perfection of social joy—the perfected "joy of God's salvation." Mrs. W. unites with me in cordially acknowledging and returning your good wishes. My kind and grateful regards to Dr. Porter.—Yours, &c.

To the Rev. H. F. Burder.

Glasgow, July 28th, 1829.

My ever dear *unforgotten* and *unforgettable* Friend—Certainly the writing of a letter is a proof that the friend to whom it is addressed is *in* our remembrance; but it by no means necessarily follows that the *not* writing of a letter is an equally conclusive proof of his being *out of* it. You retain as much, I trust, of good old *Jowler's* instructions, as to own that this is sound logic—that the absence of what proves a positive does not always prove the opposite negative. I might fill a sheet with illustrative examples; but it is needless. One is enough, and that one I have in my heart's experience at this moment. It is true that I have failed to write to my friend; but it is *not*—no indeed it is *not* true, that I have failed to remember him. "That I deny," as Sterne says; and I defy you to prove it. My own *consciousness* will to myself be proof against all proof; and, as I cannot fancy it a point which you will be particularly solicitous to establish, I flatter myself you will be quite disposed to take my *word* for the contrary. No, my beloved and well-tried friend, you live in my memory and in my affections; and, even if I should not hear from you for a year to come, I shall not let go the belief, which is the spring to me of so much real pleasure, that I live in yours.

Your affectionate heart will wake to all its tender sympathies with my own and Mrs. W.'s mingled feelings, when I tell you that this forenoon our beloved girl has given her hand in plighted love to her partner for life and for labour. They left us immediately for Inverary. There Mrs. W. and I, with our second daughter Anna, meet them to-morrow. The day after we return to our summer sea-bathing residence with them, and they leave us for London in the beginning of next week. Anna and I intend, if God

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will, to follow them thither the week after. Anna would have accompanied her sister; but the determination that she should go has been too recent to admit of her leaving home so soon; and *I* delay a week, because I cannot with propriety be so long away. Having in this way the near prospect of seeing you "face to face," and talking over all the *uncos* of south and north, I shall spare my time at present. I only say, pray for us all. I need not say it indeed; for you will do it unbidden. And you will bear especially on your spirit, at the throne of the heavenly grace, the dear *missionary pair*, that, going in a blessed cause, they may have a blessing in it.

I send you a volume; and shall be very glad to find, when I see you, that its contents, should you by that time have had leisure at all to peep into it, have given you any satisfaction. We are all well; and your old and *staunch* friend Mrs. W. unites with me in every kind wish for yourself and your dear young charge, your revered father, and the entire circle in all the points of its circumference.

I hope to hear from your own lips good accounts of your ministerial success; and I am not entirely without such tidings in the same department as will be gratifying to you.

Bad as my memory may be, I hope you will never entertain so ill an opinion of it again, for, be assured, in spite of all evidences (seeming evidences) of the contrary, I am always your truly and warmly attached friend.

I have spoken above of the interest which Dr. Wardlaw took in the young gentlemen who were boarded with him; of this let the following letter, written at this time to one of them, be taken as an instance:—

Glasgow, July 10th, 1829.

My very dear young Friend—Though I have the hope of seeing you all on Monday, yet as there is a possibility of my being disappointed, and as I sometimes find writing both easier and more advantageous than speaking, I have taken the fancy to send you a few lines, which you will receive as dictated by a true affection that would "seek your good always," both as to this life and that which is to come.

I am anxious, my dear ——, that you should excel in the prosecution of your studies at college during the approaching session. You are well aware this is not for the sake of the mere *eclat* that attends such eminence, but for the sake especially of the substantial knowledge, and useful habits, and general improvement of mind, which will be the result, and which may contribute to prepare you for filling, with comfort to yourself, with benefit to others, and with glory to God, the sphere to which you are looking forward.

But while I would not have you to make *eclat* an object, you will not be insensible to the gratification which the distinction acquired by a son so dearly loved would impart to your father's heart, nor to the desirableness of carrying home, in some of the rewards of meritorious diligence, the sure proofs of such diligence having been applied. Allow me then, dear ——, to urge upon you the necessity and duty of assiduous, steady, and persevering application to your preparatory studies. You know I don't mean by this that you immure yourself from morning to night, to the injuring of your health. But let the time devoted to study be *quantum sufficit*—a fair and

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reasonable proportion—and let it be *regularly adhered to* and *well filled up*. You know well I like youthful buoyancy, and have no objections to a little *fun;* but let study be study. Be in earnest with it.

May I say a word to you about *economy?* I don't mean that you should spend no money; that you should act the miser and keep it "for its own dear sake." I need not tell you that indeed, for it is not in your nature. You laughed the other day when I spoke of this to you, and said your good father knew the art of keeping money little better than yourself. That is just the way my young fellows do with their papa in some other things. But it won't do. *Experientia docet.* The very experience of an evil in themselves may make fathers and mothers the more solicitous to teach a different lesson to their children. Spend your money judiciously and usefully, though not penuriously and stingily. Be liberal, but be thoughtful. Spend, but spend for some good purpose—always asking the question *Cui bono?* If you cannot keep your cash in your own hands, but find it ever slipping through your fingers, let another keep it for you. I once proposed doing this office myself; but I fear I should be too easy a banker—honouring your drafts too readily.

And now, my dear friend, for a word or two on a subject of far higher importance than either of those I have spoken of. Will you ask yourself the question, and go into your heart deliberately for an answer to it, whether the principles of godliness have been gaining or losing ground with you for some time past? I have had my fears. And it would lie very heavily on my heart, were your spiritual sensibilities to be deadened rather than confirmed and enlivened under my roof. Even supposing you had no prospect of consecrating your powers to the best, and highest, and most sacred of all causes, I would write thus to you on account of the paramount importance of the question to your own personal interests, both for time and for eternity. But when your prospects (which I should be sorry you should ever think of relinquishing) are added to this, the subjects of inquiry become proportionally the more momentous, as they involve other interests as well as your own—interests both human and divine. Do not forget, then, the study of your Bible, or the duties of secret devotion. I trust you set apart a regular allowance of time every morning to both. Cherish, O cherish the principles of piety. Let these stand always *first*, as they are entitled to do; and that *knowledge* first which alone is connected with eternal life. My desires for you in these matters are the same as my desires for my own beloved children. If they are not yet gratified to their full extent with regard to some of *them*, I shall rejoice to see you SETTING them an example such as may contribute to procure me that gratification—a gratification which your worthy parents, I am sure, would agree with me in saying is the most exquisite that can visit a Christian father's or mother's heart.

If I can find room in the basket I shall send down a book for you, from which, if you can only read a small portion every morning—say for half-an-hour—you will acquire a great deal of biblical information. It is *Stackhouse's History of the Bible.*

You will, I know, do much more than *excuse* all this. You will take it as what it really is—*cardiaphonice*—the utterance of the heart, and will endeavour, by the grace of God, to derive profit from it. May God bless you, and spare you, and make you a blessing.—Your truly affectionate Friend.

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In pursuance of the purpose stated in one of these letters, Dr. Wardlaw, accompanied by his second daughter, went up to London to see Mr. and Mrs. Reid off to their destined field of labour in the East. At the conjoint request of Mr. Reid and the directors of the London Missionary Society under whose auspices he was about to set out, Dr. Wardlaw delivered to him the charge at his ordination. This service, which appears to have been deeply interesting, took place on the 18th of August at the Scots Church, Crown Court, London, where Mr. Reid's family were in the habit of worshipping. Dr. Wardlaw's charge was founded on 2d Corinthians v. 14, and turned chiefly on the indispensable necessity of love to Christ in order to the faithful discharge of the trust committed to the Christian Missionary. Commonplace as this sentiment is, the preacher threw around his illustration and enforcement of it so much of fresh interest and pathos that all who were present felt themselves subdued and moved by his eloquence; and a general desire was felt for its publication. To this the directors gave expression by unanimously requesting the author to submit it to the press. In compliance with this it appeared shortly after, under the title, "Love to Christ the constraining principle of the Christian Ministry: A Charge delivered by the Rev. R. Wardlaw, D.D., of Glasgow, at the Ordination of Mr. John Reid, M.A., as a Missionary to Bellary in the East Indies," &c.

Mr. and Mrs. Reid sailed from Portsmouth on the 3d of September in the ship Wellington, Captain Evans. In consequence of contrary winds they were obliged to put into Plymouth in the course of the following week; nor was it till the 11th of the month that they finally sailed for India. Dr. Wardlaw accompanied them to the ship and remained with them as long as he could. But his own pen can best describe this touching episode in his history.

To Mr. John S. Wardlaw.

Christchurch, September 5th, 1829.

My beloved Boy—From the above date you will see where your dear sister and I now are; and let the first thing you do be to tell Dan Gunn,

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if he should be with you when you receive this, that I now write in the dining-room looking out upon his favourite shrubbery and velvet lawn; that we have met with the kindest reception, and are highly gratified by the short experience we have had both of the place and of the company of our new friends—new and yet old. But I must not detain your fond mamma and all of you from what I know you will anxiously wish to hear, how your excellent and tender-hearted sister stood the sad parting from a *papa* to whom she has ever clung with ardent and melting affection. Dear, dear child; it was not at all with her as with some others, cheerfulness to the last, and then a sudden and violent but transient burst of emotion. Amidst new friends, and scenes, and sights, I could perceive, and I knew well the secret cause, the increasing pensiveness of her spirit, and it has been no easy matter for me to preserve my composure when, sitting by me and pressing my hand, she has looked up in my face with that expression of sweet and wistful and imploring tenderness, the recollection of which goes to my very heart. The nearer the sailing time came the deeper became her thoughtfulness and inward agitation. On the morning of Wednesday (the day of embarking), having taken very little breakfast, she retired after prayers to her bed-room, whither I was by and by summoned. She had fairly fainted away, and by the time I saw her was come out of the faint and was in a state of hysterical crying, and sobbing as if her dear heart would have broken; she was relieved, however, by this. I soothed and cheered her in every way I could think of. We got a conveyance to carry her to the shore. The ship lay about three miles off at Spithead, but the day happily was calm and delightful. We got finely on board, and remained there with them nearly two hours. We then took a hasty farewell, having retired to their cabin for that purpose. All were of course much overcome. Your dear sister had recovered in some degree, however, her tone of mind, and had been strengthened by a little wine and biscuit, and stood it better than I had feared, though how it was with her subsequently to our coming away I could not of course tell. But I have no doubt that now, when all these successive parting scenes, so extremely trying to a spirit of so much delicate susceptibility as hers, are over, and she is left to enjoy the anticipations of the work in which she and John are embarking, and to engage with him in those preparatory studies, &c., which are to occupy their attention during the voyage, she will soon rally and get better. There is almost nothing so exhausting as the anxiety of anticipation, and the constant reiteration of the agitation of feeling. I wrote a long letter to her before breakfast, on the morning of embarkation, *to be opened after our parting*. It occurred to me that the thought of having her dear Papa, as it were, still with her, even in this form, might contribute to alleviate the bitterness of separation, and impart comfort to her mind after it. I am glad the thought suggested itself. There is one thought too which has given us satisfaction—the company they have on the voyage. Mrs. Heath is one of the excellent of the earth, and she is very amiable and very cheerful, and both she and Mr. H.—who is quite a gentleman and a very pleasant man, and, I believe, seriously disposed, if not so decided as his lady—have had full experience of the voyage. I have likewise full confidence in every kind attention being shewn them by the captain and the surgeon, both of whom I saw, and with both was much pleased. And, above all, my dear boy, they go under the all-gracious protection and care of that kind providence to which, in your letter to Marianne, you so properly, and

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I trust from your heart, commended them. It is cheering to my spirit, and will be so to that of your beloved mamma, that so many fervent and affectionate prayers have preceded, accompanied, and followed them. It delighted me to hear of my own people having held a special prayer meeting for this purpose, and to see that the deacons had been mindful of their pastor's beloved child, and sent her a testimony of their remembrance, accompanied with a very affectionate and appropriate letter. I shall duly acknowledge these things in her name. On the whole, everything hitherto has been propitious, and I trust that the gracious Lord, in whose service our dear young friends have embarked, will spread his covering wings around them—sparing them, and blessing them, and making them a blessing. To HIM I again commend them; and you will all add your cordial *Amen!*

The charge which I delivered to John I was subsequently requested by the directors to print. This has accordingly been done. But it was only just published before I left London, and I had no time to give any instructions about the copies to be sent for Glasgow.

I must have done. God Almighty bless you, my dearly beloved boy. O cast in your lot decidedly with the people of God. Seek the Lord early. What is all the world to his favour? Give Him the vigour of your days. It is a dreadful thing to think of putting HIM off with the dregs of our life and the refuse of our worn-out powers! Nothing would give me more delight than to see those powers and talents which God has given you, and the various knowledge which you are in the course of acquiring, consecrated to the Saviour's service, under the constraining and hallowing influence of His love. Yes; even were it to be in India. Amid all the anguish of giving up a beloved child, nothing cheers my spirit so effectually as musing on the nature and results of the work to which she has devoted herself. O, my beloved Johnny, do not forget your Bible—read it, study it. I hope you keep to your Greek Testament before breakfast. Seek, O seek by earnest prayer, the knowledge which is life eternal. Of useful knowledge there are many descriptions—of saving knowledge there is but one. It is that revealed in the Bible, John xvii. 3. What is the sum of all other knowledge compared with this? There are *two hearts* (I need not say which they are) that will rejoice with exceeding great joy at your choosing the good part which shall never be taken from you. . . .—Your most affectionate FATHER.

The letter which Dr. Wardlaw gave to his daughter to be opened after he had left her was not one likely to be lost by her. I am happy to be able to place a transcript of it before the reader.

Portsmouth, Thursday Morning, September 3d, 1829.

My dearly beloved child—I have been again commending you and your dear John to the gracious care of the kindest and best of all fathers—your Father who is in Heaven. Only look up to him, my dearest Marianne, and all will be well. I have been thinking how many things you have to support and cheer you:—

1. I must ever place first the service in which you are embarking. O let it have all its animating influence upon your mind, to think of your devoting yourselves to the promotion of the very end for which the blessed Redeemer died. Look beyond time, and think how very trifling everything

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pertaining to this world would by and by appear—and what an unspeakable magnitude eternity will stamp on the ever-during results of that work in which you are engaging.

2. All circumstances concur to give your own mind, as the consideration of them gives mine, assurance that the step you are taking is in harmony with the will of God, and the purposes of his providence; that you are not resisting but obeying him, not counteracting but following his counsels. We can thus look for his blessing.

3. You are going with the full concurrence of those friends on earth who are the objects of your heart's fond and tender love. A sense of duty to Him who hath said, "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me," might have overcome even their disapproval and opposition. If you saw your way clear, it *ought* to have done so. But O what a bitter ingredient it would have been to your susceptible heart to have gone away, I will not say with their displeasure, but even without their hearty acquiescence. But it is otherwise. Tenderly as we feel at parting with you, we have given you up to the Lord with a willing mind; and I trust that He has accepted the sacrifice. "The heart knoweth its own bitterness;" but still "a stranger intermeddleth not with its joy."

4. You go with an excellent and affectionate earthly companion—one in all respects approved and loved by your parents, the object of your own choice and devoted attachment, and with whom there is every ground to believe you will, through the blessing of God, be happy, in the social prosecution of your glorious work. The presence of the Lord go with you both, children of my heart's love, and give you rest.

5. You go accompanied and followed by the fervent and united prayers of the Lord's people. You have been children of many prayers from your infancy—and now, that He who "fixes the bounds of our habitation," has determined your lot, and called you away from "your kindred and your father's house," to serve Him in a far country, many are the prayers—the "effectual fervent prayers"—that attend you. I cannot but regard these prayers as like the chariots of fire and horses of fire seen in symbolical vision "round about Elisha." There is a kind of omnipotence in them; for He with whom there is everlasting strength has promised to hear them.

6. You are going to a country where there is Christian society before you, and where you will meet with fellow-labourers whom God has already blessed and honoured with success. I do not mean by this that you should have no portion of Paul's spirit in desiring to preach and otherwise make known the Saviour to those among whom he had not yet been named. But still, when you see brethren before you successful in their work, you will "thank God, and take courage!"

7. You are not going to a country with which there is difficult and rare communication. You may hear with comparative frequency and regularity from your beloved friends at home, and they from you. This is delightful. Even had your destination been the islands of the South Sea, you must have enjoyed this comfort in a very limited degree. Our reciprocal letters must have been "few and far between."

8. It is no small alleviation of my anxiety respecting the voyage that the Lord has been pleased to send along with you friends and fellow-christians who appear all that is amiable and excellent, and who, having experience of the sea, will be able as well as willing to direct and care for you. With

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them, I trust, and they with you, you will have much "sweet counsel" and the "fellowship of kindred minds," which is "like to that above."

9. Every circumstance, my beloved child, has been propitious hitherto, all kindly and graciously ordered. Trust then, my dearest (I do), that He who has been with you hitherto, will "bless you still!"

Take all things together—I could add more, but time forbids—and say with the pious Psalmist, for you have abundant reason, "Why art thou cast down, O my soul, and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God, for I shall yet praise him—who is the health of my countenance, and my God." Yes; you shall yet praise him. I commend you both to Him who hath said, "I will never leave thee, I will never forsake thee." You go for a time far from your earthly father and mother and friends; but you go not from your heavenly Father. Engaging as you do in the cause that is dearest to his heart, He will, if I may say so, be nearer to you than ever.

I *must* have done. The blessing of your father and mother, my loved and cherished child, goes with you from the land of your nativity, bestowed from a full and tender heart; and what is infinitely more precious, the blessing of "your Father and our Father, of your God and our God," the blessing which "maketh rich, and with which he addeth no sorrow"—*that* blessing goes with you, and shall be with you for ever.

Blest be the dear uniting love
That will not let us part!
Our bodies may far off remove,
But we are join'd IN HEART.

Yes, dearest girl, one in heart, both by the ties of nature's love, which shrinks from this scene of tender conflict, and by the more sacred and enduring ties of grace, the thought and feeling of which cheers and supports us under it.

Yes, we shall still be join'd in heart,
And hope to meet again.

To meet *even here*, after a period of happy and useful service, and to meet at last in our Father's and Redeemer's presence, to reap together the blessed results of that service, through the merits of Him who "loved us and gave himself for us," and who is so supremely entitled to the consecrations of our ALL to Him.

And now, my dearly loved and valued son and daughter, *farewell*. "The Lord bless you and keep you—the Lord make his face to shine upon you, and be gracious unto you—the Lord lift up his countenance upon you, and give you peace," even "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, to keep your heart and mind through Christ Jesus." May He spare you and bless you and make you a blessing!

I shall carry home to your dear mamma, and all your brothers and sisters there, the warmest kisses you can give them. We will bear you on our spirits, and you will bear us, at the throne of the divine grace. We can meet at this throne even though oceans and continents lie between us. We shall live in the hope of again kneeling together before it in closer vicinity even on earth, and at last we shall cast our crowns together before it, and, "with the vast unnumber'd throng" of the redeemed—some of them the fruits of our own ministry—unite in the everlasting song, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing!"

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Again and again—farewell. The Shepherd of Israel, whose eye slumbers not nor sleeps, watch over you from henceforth and for evermore. Amen, and amen.—Your ever tenderly attached FATHER.

It will be seen from the date of the letter to his son John that Dr. Wardlaw after leaving Portsmouth paid a visit to Christchurch, where he was the guest of the Rev. W. Gunn, whose son was at this time resident under his roof in Glasgow. He also visited his old and valued friend Mr. Durant at Poole, and on his way home spent some days at Birmingham (where he was cheered by a letter from Mr. and Mrs. Reid, written after they had been driven into Plymouth), at Manchester and other places. He reached Glasgow in the end of September.

In one of the letters above cited Dr. Wardlaw refers to a work by Mr. Erskine, and to certain sentiments contained in it which he had perused with regret and pain. The work in question was an Essay on the Unconditional Freeness of the Gospel, then recently published, and the sentiments set forth in it which caused Dr. Wardlaw pain were those which the author had adopted and was seeking to diffuse respecting the universal pardon of mankind through the atonement of Christ. In his zeal for a free and unfettered offer of salvation to all men, Mr. Erskine—not content with the doctrine that the atonement offered by Christ is of infinite efficacy, so that on the ground of it God *may* honourably pardon all sin, and *will* pardon the sins of all who come to him through Christ—endeavoured in his essay to maintain that the atonement of Christ had taken effect in the actual pardon of all mankind, and that salvation consists in the coming to a personal consciousness of this through the reception and belief of the gospel. To Dr. Wardlaw his sentiments on this subject appeared "confused and hardly consistent with themselves," and as they were set forth in union with much that he held to be most important, and with all the attractions which genius like that of Mr. Erskine could throw around them, he feared that they might find a degree of acceptance such as it was most undesirable that sentiments so unscriptural should obtain. He accordingly saw it to be his duty to subject these views to a thorough sifting,

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and to issue the result of his scrutiny through the press. His attention was at the same time drawn to another set of views which had been recently urged into fresh importance and prominency in Scotland—those relating to the believer's personal assurance of salvation—views which have something more than a mere accidental connection, arising out of their being agitated at the same time, with those of Mr. Erskine; for as the leading advocates of the doctrine of personal assurance held and taught that we have the very same evidence, that we are justified which we have that God raised Jesus Christ from the dead, so that (to quote the words of Barclay, the Coryphæus of the modern advocates of this doctrine), "by whatever evidence it was possible for the persons to whom they [the passages Acts xiii. 32, 33, 38, 39] were addressed, to *know* that God had raised up Jesus again, by the same precise evidence it became impossible for them *not to know* that God had forgiven their sins, unless they esteemed him an unfaithful witness;"* it follows that our justification is not conditioned by our believing, but is itself a fact to be believed—a fact whether we believe it or not, and altogether independent of us, just as the resurrection of Christ is. At this point, then, Mr. Barclay and Mr. Erskine, though on other points wide as the poles asunder, meet; both agree that we are called upon not to believe *in order that* we may be justified, but to believe that we *are* justified or pardoned—with this momentous difference, however, that the one restricts this privilege to the elect while the other extends it to all men.

On this subject of Assurance Dr. Wardlaw had some time before preached some sermons in Edinburgh, which he had been earnestly solicited by numerous friends, through a written requisition, to print; and finding that the two subjects touched each other, he determined to comply with this request by issuing his sermons in the form of an essay along with his strictures on the Views of Mr. Erskine. In the preparation of this work he was diligently occupied after his return from the south; and it appeared in March 1830 under the title "Two Essays: I. On the Assurance

* Assurance of Faith Vindicated, p. 56.

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of Faith; II. On the Extent of the Atonement and Universal Pardon;" with the motto from Whateley, "A desire to have Scripture on our side is one thing; and a sincere desire to be on the side of Scripture is another."

The two Essays in this volume are of unequal length, and, as it appears to me, of unequal merit. The first is the longer, but in my humble judgment the less valuable of the two. It is diffuse, and to a considerable extent unsatisfactory. A considerable portion of it is taken up in advocating the doctrine that saving faith is simple belief of the testimony of God concerning his Son, as opposed to the view that it includes as a necessary element that trust in Christ to which the belief of the testimony naturally leads. With this doctrine I cannot concur, nor do I think it is one which the author has consistently adhered to throughout his Essay; but it is not on this ground that I would take exception to the part of the essay which is devoted to it. That seems to me liable to a more serious objection, arising out of the *irrelevancy* of the whole discussion to the author's main theme. For, as respects the question of assurance, it matters nothing which of these views of the nature of faith we adopt; in either case, the question as to the believer's knowledge that he himself is saved remains untouched. The real question, so far as faith is concerned in the discussion, is one on which Dr. Wardlaw has but slightly dwelt, viz., whether saving faith be an act of the mind terminating on something purely objective, be that Christ or only God's testimony concerning Christ, or an act having respect to the individual's own personal interest in Christ? This latter view was that held by some of the reformers, especially of the Calvinistic side, and it has always been a view held more or less in the churches which followed Calvin. Calvin's own doctrine on the subject is, that "faith is a firm and certain cognition of the divine goodwill toward us which, founded on the truth of the gracious promise in Christ, is both revealed to our minds and sealed to our hearts by the Holy Spirit." * One of

* Nunc justa fidei definitio nobis constabit si dicamus esse divinæ erga nos benevolentiæ firmam certamque cognitionem, quæ gratuitæ in Christo promissionis veri-

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Calvin's immediate followers, and an early luminary of the French church, Anthony Sadeel (Chandeu), has explicitly stated the view held by his party thus:—"True faith not only in the general believes the divine mysteries revealed by God, but also applies them to believers that they may lay hold of the benefit. For example: It is not enough that I should believe that Jesus Christ has come into the world, suffered death, risen from the dead and ascended to heaven; for this, which is but an historical faith, will not save me; to knowledge must be added the assurance with which I believe that Jesus Christ came into the world, died, rose, and ascended into heaven for me, seeing that thus he obtained salvation and eternal life for me." * The same doctrine was held with great distinctness and tenacity by the Dutch divines of the contra-remonstrant party in the beginning of the seventeenth century.† It is the doctrine also of the Augsburg Confession,‡ and of many Lutheran divines, though it may be questioned if Luther himself held it. § And it is a doctrine which, in the earlier ages of the Anglican church, was held and taught by many of its greatest lights. Now, from this view of faith, the doctrine of personal assurance is inseparable, for the two are in fact identical; so that if this be what the Bible means by faith, every one who believes *must* know that he is among the saved. If any other view of faith be taken, personal assu-

tate fundata, per Spiritum sanctum et revelatur mentibus nostris et cordibus obsignatur. Instit. Christ. Rel. l. iii. c. 2, § 7.

* Nam vera fides non solum in genere credit mysteria divina a Deo revelata, sed ea quoque adaptat fidelibus ut fructum percipiant. Exempli gratia: Non satis est si credam Jesum Christum venisse in mundum, mortem perpessum esse, resurrexisse, et in cœlum ascendisse; hæc enim fides historica non me servabit. Sed cognitioni adjungenda est fiducia qua credam Jesum Christum venisse in mundum, mortuum esse, resurrexisse, et in cœlum ascendisse pro me, quatenus ita mihi salutem et vitam æternam acquisivit. Opp. Theol. p. 457. Conf. etiam, p. 399.

† "Faith," say the authors of the Synopsis Purioris Theologiæ, "is a firm assent by which every believer, with a certain trust resting in God, is persuaded not only that remission of sins is in general promised to them who believe, but is granted to himself particularly, and eternal righteousness, and from it life by the mercy of God." Quoted by Barrow on the Creed, Serm. 4.

‡ Nos præter illam fidem [quæ in genere credit deum esse, pœnas propositas esse impiis, &c.] requirimus ut credat sibi quisque remitti peccata. Apol. Conf. Augsb. p. 172.

§ See Appendix I.

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rance can be reached only as an inference from two premises, one of which, as resting on personal consciousness, must always be more or less hypothetical; and so far as this is concerned, it is of no moment whether we suppose faith to be reliance on Christ, or only belief of God's testimony concerning Christ; for in either case, the evidence of personal assurance is of the same value. In order to refute this opinion, then, it is obviously the business of the polemic to show that faith is not that special belief in a man's own justification which some hold it to be, and out of which alone assurance could certainly spring. This done, it matters not to his further argument whether faith be looked on as simple credence, or as credence with assent, or as reliance. I cannot but think, therefore, that Dr. Wardlaw erred in occupying so much of his Essay with an inquiry, and resting so much of his argument on a conclusion which, whatever its intrinsic merits, had no direct bearing on the main theme of his discussion.

The second of the two Essays in this volume—that on the Extent of the Atonement and Universal Pardon, appears to me not only much superior to its companion, but in all respects one of its author's ablest and most conclusive productions. The reasoning is close and to the point; the sentiments advanced are evidently those of mature conviction and enlarged reflection; the style is vigorous; and the whole tone of the Essay is manly and masterly. The view which the author advocates as to the nature and extent of the Atonement is substantially the same with that advanced in his Discourses on the Socinian Controversy. He regards the atonement of Christ as in principle "a vindicatory manifestation of the righteousness of God, in order to the free and honourable exercise of his mercy." He rejects the view of those who place the essence of the atonement in the exact equivalence of the Saviour's sufferings with the punishment due to the sins of the elect, so that they are forgiven on the ground that their substitute actually suffered for them all (neither more nor less), that they had deserved to suffer. And he advocates the doctrine that the atonement was a remedy of universal sufficiency, but that its efficiency is limited by the

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purpose of God in election; there having been in the divine mind a double object in providing that scheme—on the one hand "an object pertaining to the general administration of his government as the moral Ruler of the world," and on the other "an object of a more special kind, belonging to the distribution of his favours as a sovereign benefactor." On the ground thus laid down, the author triumphantly vindicates "the unconditional freeness of the gospel," not only without having recourse to the hypothesis of universal pardon, but whilst showing the weakness, incoherence, and unscripturality of such an hypothesis. I have often regretted in regard to this Essay that it had not been published separately, as I feel assured it would have obtained a much more extensive circulation than it had, and might in that case have prevented some crudities of theological discussion which at a later period agitated the public mind in Scotland, and had something to do in calling forth another publication from Dr. Wardlaw on the same subject.

Before passing from the subject of this publication, I think it due to its author to insert the following extract from a letter addressed to him on occasion of it by one whose commendation it was worth any one's while to receive, and in the development of whose spiritual life it was an honour even for Dr. Wardlaw to have had such a share as is here gratefully acknowledged. The writer was the late Dr. M'All of Manchester.

Manchester, May 13, 1830.

My very dear Sir—Yesterday I had the happiness to receive your kind and most welcome letter, and the accompanying present of your last publication, to the appearance of which I had looked forward with no small interest ever since I heard the announcement that it might shortly be expected from the press, and by the perusal of its greater portion have now been gratified, and I hope improved, in a measure such as I cannot adequately express. The subjects you have in this instance selected are scarcely more important than they are obscure and embarrassing, till subjected to such a process of examination as you have instituted, and I well remember the time when it would have been to myself of unspeakable advantage, and have relieved me from the presence of almost intolerable difficulties, could I have met with such a treatise as that you have thus kindly sent me. That I have now experienced less direct relief, though not less delight, from its most luminous and convincing statements, is in great measure owing to yourself, and to the benefit I have derived in former cases both from your writings

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and your conversation, and from those habits of examination and of thought for which, however imperfectly they have been cultivated, I am sensible I am indebted, and that most extensively and permanently, to the influence you have in various ways exercised over me. I doubt not that these Essays will be productive of the most salutary effects. They were loudly called for by the strange and melancholy perversions of Christian sentiment prevailing on every hand. You will not, I am persuaded, be without your reward for whatever labour or investigation they have cost you.

Dr. Woods of America also wrote him in commendation of this publication as follows:—"I have read the American edition of your book in reply to Erskine, and think it perfectly satisfactory. I am particularly gratified with it as a fair sample of what I think controversy ought to be both as to argument and spirit."

Not many weeks after the publication of these Essays, Dr. Wardlaw was summoned to discharge the duty of preaching the funeral sermon of one with whom he had long been associated in the ministry of the gospel, the late Rev. John Hercus of Greenock. For this eminently holy, devoted and useful minister of Christ all who knew him entertained feelings of the liveliest esteem, and none more so than Dr. Wardlaw, to whom frequent intercourse had given the best opportunity of observing his excellences and the real worth of his simple and unpretentious, but earnest, vigorous and genial character. In preaching his funeral sermon, consequently, Dr. Wardlaw took occasion to express strongly his sense of his excellence, and to delineate with some fulness the leading features of his life and character. The sermon was soon after published under the title "Christ's Care of his Servants: A sermon preached in the Independent Chapel, Greenock, on Sabbath May 23, 1830, on occasion of the lamented death of the Rev. John Hercus. With an Appendix containing a brief Memoir." The text of the sermon is John xvii. 15, which is carefully elucidated and turned to important practical uses. The sketch of Mr. Hercus's character was recognised by all his friends as truthful, discriminating and affectionate.

About the time at which we have now arrived considerable attention had been excited in both parts of the island to the claims of the Sabbath as a day of religious rest. The discussions

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in Parliament respecting the duty of the Legislature to interfere for the due observance of that day had called forth several publications which were calculated, in the estimation of those who reverenced its sanctity, to do serious damage to the cause of religion if extensively read and followed. This called into the field many zealous and able defenders of Sabbath observance as a religious duty, and among others the ministers of Glasgow agreed to bring the subject before their respective congregations simultaneously. To Dr. Wardlaw this appeared a favourable opportunity of discussing the question of the Sabbath in all its length and breadth, and he accordingly determined to make it the subject of a course of Lectures, commencing on the day that had been agreed on by the ministers for their simultaneous appeal. For this duty he summoned up his utmost vigour and girded himself with his best armour. His course ran through nine Lectures, which were delivered on the evenings of the first Sabbath in each month. The interest excited by these lectures was very great; the chapel was crowded to its utmost capacity with earnest and thoughtful hearers; and there can be no doubt that many received much benefit from what they heard. At the conclusion of the course the lecturer, in compliance with the general desire of his auditors, resolved to prepare his discourses for the press.

Whilst engaged in the delivery of these lectures Dr. Wardlaw furnished an Introductory Essay to Clark's Collection of Scripture Promises, one of the volumes of Collins's Select Christian Authors. He also supplied an Introductory Essay to an edition of Bishop Hall's Contemplations on the Historical Passages of the Old and New Testaments, in 2 vols. 8vo, issued by Messrs. Blackie, Fullarton and Co., of Glasgow. Of these Essays the former is an elaborate ethical and theological dissertation, in which the author investigates the nature and moral obligation of a promise, and illustrates the promises of Scripture in their history, their common principle, their variety and their certainty, whether as conditional or unconditional. The whole Essay is well worthy of perusal, though on the subject of moral obligation it contains

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some views which the author saw reason afterwards to change. The Essay prefixed to Hall's Contemplations is principally occupied with a biographical sketch of the author and some critical remarks on the work itself, introduced by a series of admirable observations on the historical and biographical narratives of the Bible. The sketch of the worthy bishop is executed with elegance, and in a spirit of sincere appreciation of his piety and general excellence, though with a just discrimination and an honest exhibition of his infirmities and faults.

Hitherto Dr. Wardlaw had been blest with the enjoyment of almost uninterrupted good health; and, like most who are so favoured, he had somewhat forgotten that there are limits beyond which the powers of the most vigorous constitution cannot be safely taxed. Of his error in this particular he was painfully reminded in the spring of 1831, when he was for a season completely prostrated, and his medical attendant saw it necessary to enjoin entire cessation from work until his system should have recovered its tone. This was to him a hard sentence, and one to which he was not very willing to submit. He tried to compromise the matter by retiring for a little to Langside, the residence of an excellent lady and attached member of his church; but his friendly and skilful physician was not to be so baffled. Convinced that Dr. Wardlaw's ailments proceeded "from the sedentary nature of his occupations and from over-exertion both in his studies and in his more active duties," Dr. Anderson addressed a letter to the deacons of West George Street Church, in which, after stating this, and giving it as his opinion that no method of treatment was likely to be of permanent service to him unless he could be relieved entirely from his duties for a season, he formally requests them that they would "collectively endeavour to persuade him to relinquish for a time the whole of his ministerial duties." What steps the deacons took in consequence of this I have not been informed, but it does not appear that Dr. Wardlaw relinquished his post for more than a brief interval, which he spent at Dunblane. Through divine mercy this relaxation was blessed for his restoration to health, and he returned to his duties in the

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course of the summer, though prudently abstaining from any work beyond what his immediate official responsibility imposed, and availing himself of occasional opportunities of relaxation before the toils of the winter commenced. On his reappearance amongst his flock a letter was addressed to him by his deacons, in which, after piously expressing their gratitude to God for his restoration, they proceed to counsel him as to the course which it would be prudent for him to follow in future. Among other things they say, "Having good reason to believe that your labours for a considerable time past were too great for you, we have to request, as we hereby do most earnestly, that you will give up your office of secretary to the Glasgow Auxiliary Bible Society, the two-monthly sermons, and every public service not immediately connected with your pastoral office. We would also," they add, "recommend your giving us occasionally some of your former discourses." The letter goes on to illustrate the benefits of bodily exercise for the student, and to suggest pastoral visitation as a pleasant and profitable way of taking that exercise—a suggestion so thoroughly laic, and dictated by such profound unacquaintedness with the nature and necessities of the student, that one cannot read it without a smile. The whole letter indeed is written in a quaint, old-fashioned style that is amusing; but it bears throughout the marks of the most perfect sincerity, and of the warmest affection on the part of its authors towards the party to whom it is addressed.

As soon as the state of his health permitted, Dr. Wardlaw resumed the preparation of his Discourses on the Sabbath for the press. He was enabled to pursue this work steadily through the succeeding autumn and part of the winter, so as to issue the work in the beginning of 1832. It appeared in a duodecimo form, and containing 295 pages, under the title of Discourses on the Sabbath. The number of discourses is nine; of which the first four are devoted to the argumentative defence of the Sabbath as a divine institution of universal and permanent obligation, while the remaining five discuss various points of a practical nature relating to the proper observance of the Sabbath

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and the best means of promoting this. The whole volume is most valuable, but the earlier part of it is that to which the chief importance must be attached. The reply to Paley in defence of the ante-Mosaic institution of the Sabbath is masterly and conclusive; and not less so is the argument in the second discourse on the comprehensiveness, universality, and permanence of the Decalogue. But perhaps the part of the work in which the author has most put forth his strength is in the fourth discourse, where he argues for direct New Testament authority for the change of the day from the seventh day of the week to the first, grounding his argument on Heb. iv. 9, 10, which he labours to prove refers not to the heavenly rest but to the keeping of a Sabbath on earth by the people of God under the Christian dispensation, commemorative of Christ's having entered his rest and analogous to the Sabbath-keeping of the Israelites, in commemoration of the rest of Canaan, and to the primal Sabbath kept in commemoration of Jehovah's entering into rest after the work of creation. This view, which is also in substance that adopted by John Owen, is defended by Dr. Wardlaw with great ingenuity; but I question if the conclusion at which he arrives will appear to others as certain as it appeared to him. The argument is too intricate to be entered on here. I content myself therefore with referring the reader to Dr. Wardlaw's own exposition of it; persuaded that whether convinced by his reasonings or not, every intelligent reader will be gratified with the ability displayed in the discussion, and will admit that seldom has a perplexed question been more perspicuously and dexterously handled, or a dubious position more ingeniously and plausibly maintained.

In the concluding discourse in this volume Dr. Wardlaw discusses the delicate and difficult question of the province of the civil magistrate in relation to the Sabbath. The position he assumes here is that as the Sabbath has a twofold aspect, a secular and a sacred, the legislature, though precluded from enforcing its observance on the ground of the latter, may on the ground of the former enforce it so far as to prohibit all traffic,

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to secure from all unnecessary annoyance and interruption those who choose to devote the day to religious service, and to regulate the amusements of the people so far as to prevent all noisy and obtrusive modes of recreation. This part of the work appears to me not worthy of the rest; and betrays indications I think of having been written hastily or perhaps under the depressing influence of feeble health. The author's reasoning is singularly inconclusive. Obviously his premises are too narrow or his conclusions too wide; for if the magistrate be restricted to the mere *secular* bearings of the Sabbath, that is, its advantages to the health of the community, he has clearly no right to make the infraction of it a *crime* to be repressed by penalties, and it is clearly a mere piece of tyranny to dictate to the people within what limits their amusements are to be kept, so long as they do no injury to person or property. And with regard to the protection of those who choose to spend the day in religious exercises, that applies to all days as well as Sunday, for every society which meets peaceably for lawful purposes is entitled to the protection of law on whatever day they may choose to assemble. Nothing seems more certain than that if you abstract from the sacred, that is the religiously imperative, character of the Sabbath, you must place it legislatively on the same level with any other civil holiday; and in that case all that the legislature can do is to name the day for a holiday, leaving the community to observe it as such or not if they please, and to spend it in any recreations that shall be most agreeable to them. When the magistrate, professing to stand on purely secular ground, attempts to do more—attempts to do as much as Dr. Wardlaw says in this discourse he ought to do—no wonder that the people should become rebellious. Their common sense tells them that his reasoning is unsound—that his premises do not legitimate his conclusion, and therefore they cry out against his interference as unjust and tyrannous. If the cricket club of parish A shall see meet to challenge the cricket club of parish Z to a match next Sunday that shall decide in the face of all England the comparative merits of these illustrious rivals, or if John

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Stubbs thinks nothing so refreshing after a hard week's work as a game at bowls or skittles on the Sunday, or if the grocer's wife, with her marriageable but not married daughters, thinks there is nothing on earth so pleasant as a Sunday visit to Greenwich or Vauxhall, is it not most unreasonable in the legislature to step in and say, "It is true we appointed this day to be observed purely on secular grounds, as a day of relaxation and recreation; but nevertheless we cannot allow you to amuse yourselves on this day as you may on other days, and therefore all such noisy and obtrusive amusements as these must be prohibited?" This sort of legislation plainly will never do. Either the magistrate must not meddle with Sabbath observance at all, or he must take his stand on the *religious* character of the day; and just as he forbids polygamy, or the marrying of one's sister, or the holding of slaves, or perjury, or many things besides, on the ground that God has denounced them, he must forbid, under such penalties as he shall see meet, all open violation by traffic or amusement of a day which God has said shall be kept as a day of rest for man and for beast. When the legislator takes his ground on this principle he will have the conscience of the nation on his side, and if his enactments be wise and just he will find public feeling support him; but if otherwise he is only likely to produce confusion and riot by his interference. With these convictions I cannot but regret that Dr. Wardlaw should have lent the sanction of his high authority to a doctrine which, if acted upon by our legislature and embraced by the community, would soon deprive us of all the blessings of the Sabbath as a day of religious rest.

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CHAPTER XII.

A. D. 1830—A. D. 1833.

With the year 1830 the nation entered upon a period of much public excitement and controversy. The repeal of the test and corporation Acts led on the question of reform in the representation of the people in Parliament; and as the success of the popular party in the state became more conspicuous, many abuses which had hitherto been only theoretically assailed but which the leaders of that party stood pledged to oppose, were dragged to the bar of public discussion and censure. In the exciting controversies of the time it was impossible for Dr. Wardlaw not to feel deeply interested; but he took no active part in the agitation of political questions except when they appeared to him to involve considerations of ethical or religious moment. His sympathies, however, were with the liberal party in their leading measures. Educated in the principles of Toryism, the only principles which in his youthful days it was thought in the northern part of the island befitting a gentleman to profess, he gradually, after he had arrived at manhood, dropt these earlier convictions and adopted the doctrines of the opposite party in the state. He thus became and continued a stedfast Whig, and almost the only occasions on which he took any part in political matters were in support of measures in which that party took the lead.

Of the laurels reaped by the Whig party, not the least bright and enduring are those earned by their efforts for the abolition of the slave-trade and of slavery. In their efforts for these objects they had the entire sympathy and hearty co-opera-

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tion of Dr. Wardlaw, than whom the Anti-slavery cause had no more zealous, fervent, consistent and persevering friend.

Dr. Wardlaw began to move in this cause as early as the year 1823, when he was present at the formation of the Glasgow Anti-slavery Society; and from that time forward his advocacy was never wanting when required on its behalf. In a place where the West Indian interest, as it was called, was so powerful as it was in Glasgow, such a course could not be followed without exposing the individual to much odium, and involving him in unpleasant altercation. Of this Dr. Wardlaw had his full share, and what rendered his position peculiarly painful was that some of his own relatives were connected with the West Indies, and took his advocacy of the cause of the slaves very much amiss as a personal assault and wrong. With unabated firmness, however, he held on the course he had adopted, mildly seeking to conciliate the prejudices of those who were opposed to him, but manfully following out his own convictions, and suffering no occasion to pass of testifying against the sin and cruelty of the system he sought to see abolished.

Like most others in this country Dr. Wardlaw was, up to the year 1830, in favour of the gradual as opposed to the immediate emancipation of the slaves. More extended information, however, and a closer survey of the question in all its bearings had operated in him the same change of opinion on this point which had already taken place with most of the leading minds on the Anti-slavery side; and accordingly, when the late Dr. Andrew Thomson of Edinburgh, in his never-to-be forgotten speech at the meeting of the Edinburgh Anti-slavery Society in October 1830, boldly proclaimed that henceforth their demand must be for immediate and total emancipation, no man more readily and heartily re-echoed the sentiment than Dr. Wardlaw. At a meeting held in Glasgow on the 11th of November of the same year, he moved a series of resolutions in which slavery was condemned as an evil admitting of no effectual palliation, and demanding entire and immediate extirpation as its only cure. These resolutions he supported in a speech of consider-

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able length and of great power, in the course of which he was frequently interrupted by the loud applause of the audience. Unhappily no copy or correct report of this speech remains; but from the report of it in the Glasgow Chronicle, though very imperfect and frequently obviously incorrect, we can gather enough to satisfy us of its thorough-going character. "We must strike at the root of the evil," he exclaimed; "it is not the pruning or lopping off of branches that will effect our purpose; we must aim at the extirpation not only of West and East Indian slavery but of slavery wherever it exists, till there is no longer a slave on the earth or a man to be found who has property in his fellow-man." "No amelioration short of abolition would be satisfactory. Slavery must be totally extinguished. This foul blot must be wiped from the national character. Who does not exult with delight that we have no slaves at home—why, then, have them abroad?" He concluded by saying, "If I had yielded to the influence of friendship I should not have appeared here this day; and I know the cost of my attendance in the coldness, distance and alienation which I shall experience from some whose friendship I prize. But I felt the call of duty to be higher than that of friendship, and I dare not keep back. There are two things of higher importance than [the pleasures of earthly friendship] an approving conscience and an approving God."

The penalty which Dr. Wardlaw had thus prepared himself to pay for his advocacy of the rights of the slave was exacted from him to the uttermost farthing, and that without delay. Many who had been hitherto on terms of friendly intercourse with him entirely withdrew from him; some even of his regular hearers ceased to attend on his ministry; and alienation on the part of some connected with him by the ties of blood added a still severer pang to the trials he had to endure. He became indeed for a time the mark against which the West Indian party in Scotland shot their most envenomed arrows; and had he not been clothed in the panoply of an unblemished character they would have taken fatal revenge on him for the offence he

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had given them. As it was his spirit was vexed, his time and energies taxed, and his feelings continually wounded by the incessant attacks, epistolary and in newspapers, made upon him, and the necessity of replying to these. At one point too it seemed as if his assailants had found him vulnerable. Was he not himself at one time a holder of West Indian property including slaves? and was he not now reaping the advantages of having sold that property before the efforts of the party he had now joined had so far depreciated the value of such property that such advantageous sales of it could no longer be effected? Here was a rope round the neck of this anti-slavery champion such as must needs stifle him and silence for ever his anti-slavery harangues! Great was the exultation of the "West Indian interest" at this discovery, and huge the noise they made over it; not without some effect upon the minds of those who were ignorant of the facts of the case; but without occasioning on the part of Dr. Wardlaw a momentary pause or falter in the course he had resolved to pursue.

The facts of the case on which this ridiculous charge was founded were simply the following:—Mrs. Wardlaw, the Doctor's mother, had a brother, Ralph Fisher, who was a merchant at Kingston in Jamaica, and who at his death bequeathed, among a number of legacies to other relations, one of £1000 to his nephew and namesake, along with an equal share with his brothers of some other sums left to Mrs. Wardlaw's family. Mr. Fisher died while his nephews were mere boys, and in 1798 a deed was executed between Mr. Walter Ewing Maclae of Cathkin, as representing his son the late Mr. Humphrey Ewing (afterwards Maclae), then a merchant in Kingston, on the one side, and sundry parties interested in Mr. Fisher's will on the other, among whom was Mr. Wardlaw as representing his sons, who were minors; the design of which was to authorise and empower Mr. Humphrey Ewing to take possession of Mr. Fisher's estate on securing payment of the different legacies to the parties in terms of Mr. Fisher's will. This deed Dr. Wardlaw along with his father and brothers signed. And some years after,

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when he became of age, he found himself in possession of a sum of nearly £1400 as a legacy from his maternal uncle. This was the whole of his connection with Jamaica. His holding of slaves and selling them and pocketing the money was a pure fabrication. His uncle left him a certain sum; and his cousin Mr. Humphrey Ewing paid it to him when due. Beyond that he knew nothing and was responsible for nothing.

The trials which came upon Dr. Wardlaw for his exertions in opposition to slavery were the more difficult to bear from the infirm state of his own health and the affliction of several members of his family. One of his sons had to suffer amputation of the foot; and this he describes as a "very painful trial." Mrs. Wardlaw's health also was such as to occasion him much uneasiness; and though the illness from which he had recently suffered seemed to have been removed and his general health was good, symptoms of a new kind had begun to show themselves that occasioned much uneasiness to his friends on his account. Still he continued stedfastly at his post so long as he possibly could, imposing upon himself even the additional labour of re-composing a whole department of his Theological Lectures for the Academy; nor was it until medical advice positively prohibited the continuance of his exertions that he sought even a temporary relaxation. The symptoms which had begun to manifest themselves were indicative of some organic disorder, and, though supposed at the time to be connected with some abnormal state or action of the heart, were doubtless only the initiatory manifestations of the disorder which ultimately terminated his life. These various trials told little on his spirits, and in but a slight degree retarded his exertions; but they left their trace on his outward appearance. I remember meeting him in 1831, after having been some time without seeing him, and being struck with the appearance of age that had crept over his features. He had lost the greater part of his hair, his face had become sharper in its angles, and a general pallor overspread his countenance which betokened anxiety or suffering. To those who did not know him he passed now for a much older man

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than he really was. An instance of this he was himself in the habit of relating with great amusement. He thus mentions it in a letter to his son-in-law Mr. Reid dated 28th February 1832. "There was a good man in Arran, when I was there with Dr. Paterson in September [1831] who asked him in my absence for 'the auld faither,' and guessed my age at 'about fourscore!' I happened to want a front tooth at the time which contributed to the venerable antiquity of my appearance. We had the benefit of a hearty laugh; and 'the auld faither' has been one of my designations since."

To this may be appropriately appended the following notice:—

"In 1831 or 1832, I am not certain which, Dr. Wardlaw and Dr. Paterson visited the Highlands of Perthshire for the benefit of Dr. Wardlaw's health. Being at the time tutor to a young gentleman in that country, I had the means of procuring for the two doctors the use of a boat on a Highland loch, and there was spent my first day in Dr. Wardlaw's company. The two venerables (for though not very old at that time, in my eyes they were very venerable) used the rod and line while their youthful companion rowed the boat. With a bright sky overhead, and rock and heather all around, we spent one of the most health-inspiring days that can be enjoyed even amid the mountains of Scotland. The scene is now before me, and will be one of the last to vanish from my mind. The kindliness and geniality of both my honoured associates were in full play, and if they did little to win the regards of the merry fish that sported around us, to me they were invaluable as the foundation of that at-homeness which I ever after felt in the company of both Dr. Wardlaw and Dr. Paterson." *

It will be remembered that the year 1832 was that in which Scotland was first visited by the scourge of the cholera. During this visitation Glasgow suffered severely; and the novelty as well as fatality of the disease contributed to keep the minds of all in a state of much excitement, and to awaken much serious

* Reminiscences of Dr. Wardlaw by Rev. John Kennedy of Stepney.

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feeling in the bosoms even of the most careless. A national fast having been appointed on account of this visitation to be held on the 22d of March, Dr. Wardlaw made it the occasion of preaching a sermon on the Agency of God in Human Calamities, from Amos iii. 6, in which he vindicated the divine agency as opposed to the atheistic notion of chance, the superstitious creations of idolatry, and the rationalistic exaltation of second causes to the place due only to the great first cause. This sermon was not published; but a report of it appeared in the Scottish Pulpit for Saturday, March 31, 1832.

In the following month Dr. Wardlaw again spent some weeks at Dunblane. In May he attended the annual meeting of the Scottish Congregational Union at Edinburgh, where he preached one of the sermons, the other being preached by the late Mr. Francis Dick. Both were afterwards published. Dr. Wardlaw's is entitled "The Voice of the Spirit to the Churches," and is founded on Rev. iii. 21. From this he takes occasion to extract from all the seven Apocalyptic epistles the leading practical lessons they were originally, and still are, designed to convey. The discourse is a valuable one both for the elucidation of Scripture truth which it contains and for the vein of practical admonition and suggestion by which it is pervaded.

Having engaged to preach at the missionary anniversary at Hull and at Nottingham, Dr. Wardlaw took advantage of the opportunity to spend some time in the south, and to make some collections in aid of the Congregational Union, the funds of which were at this time inadequate to meet the demand upon them. He was absent on this journey during the months of June and July. The letters I am about to subjoin will supply all needful details respecting this journey. I may only add here that the sum he brought back for the benefit of the Union was, after all expenses were paid, £318 : 18 : 6—a seasonable and welcome donation which by clearing off the encumbrances then burdening that society enabled it to enter upon a course of fresh activity, so that it has never since required to call in the aid of the churches in the south.

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The preceding statements will receive further illustrations from the following extracts from Dr. Wardlaw's letters at this time.

To the Rev. Dr. H. F. Burder.

Glasgow, April 18th, 1832.

My *ever* dear Friend—Dear, that is, whether I answer your letters at short or at distant intervals, or even if I should not answer them at all—did you ever in all your life fall in with such a perfect model of consistency?—consistency which has now proved itself so peremptory, that even the admirable *Irish* conclusion of your last most kind epistle has failed of moving it to any aberration from its long-established course. I was delighted with that conclusion. It was singularly happy. You would for once "*refrain from asking* me to write, and try what effect *this* would have." Whether was this meant as an appeal to any little remains of *shame* you thought might still be lingering about the precincts of your friend's heart, whose "ingenuous blushes" might not yet have been utterly "quenched," or to that fractious and capricious spirit of "*contradiction* for its own dear sake," of which your long and intimate knowledge of him had furnished you with so many experimental proofs? To which of these principles soever the appeal was intended, alas for its success! Here am I writing you as usual after a long interval, just as if you had asked me to write immediately! So that this last ingenious device having failed, you have heaved a forlorn sigh, and given me up as a "bad job." Well, well—"For a' that, an' a' that," as the Scotch song goes, you cannot hinder me from bearing towards you an unabated, and (as far as my optics can penetrate futurity) an interminable attachment; and you cannot even prevent me now and then forcing the assurance of it upon you; for you will not just yet refuse my letters when the post presents them; and when you *do* read my assurances you will not—no, you will not, even for a long time to come, lay them aside with an "Incredulus odi." I was delighted to hear from you, my beloved friend.

June 1st.—Thus far had I got *six weeks ago!* when I was interrupted; and since that time I have been in Edinburgh, Dunblane, &c., partly by myself and partly with my family, partly on official engagements and partly for recreation and health. The official engagements were in Edinburgh, where I had to preach at the Annual Meeting of the Congregational Union, and to take my part in the various business of that occasion. The meetings should this year have been in Glasgow; but the uncertainty of the removal of the cholera from our city in sufficient time gave rise to the change of place. At Dunblane some of my family were in need of a little bracing, one of them being just in course of recovering strength from a smart though short fever, and others not very stout.

I have allowed the former part of this letter to stand as it was, to give you ocular demonstration that at that date I had actually begun to write to you. I really, after all I can say in the way of joke, am heartily ashamed of my incessant delinquencies. Do forgive them, and credit my word in opposition to my actions. This is not the usual principle of judgment, I am aware, nor is it exactly the doctrine I inculcate from the pulpit. But I insist upon an exception in this instance in my own behalf; and if you like the ordinary rule, you should like to have an exception to it you know, on the principle that exceptio *firmat* regulam.

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I have been of late annoyed with a complaint in my chest, the symptoms of which are not at present serious, but which will require care and caution to prevent its degenerating into anything worse. When I have mentioned this, it may surprise you when I add that I am not without hopes of being able very soon to tell my beloved friend all about it *in propria persona*. I engaged some time ago to attend the missionary anniversaries of Hull and Nottingham, the former on the 10th and the latter on the 17th of this month. Understanding that I was going to the south, the brethren interested in the objects of the Congregational Union thought of requesting me to proceed to London and try to raise a little supply for its funds, which, although very creditable on the whole, are yet greatly short of what could be profitably expended in itinerancies in the destitute parts of Scotland. The proposal came *late*, and I am as yet in a state of uncertainty about its being carried into effect. It will doubly gratify me if it should, by enabling me to serve a good cause, and giving me at the same time the pleasure of taking by the hand and to my heart, friends whom I love. I have likewise the additional pleasure this time of being accompanied by my dear wife, whom it will delight greatly, to renew an old intimacy with one of her special favourites. We leave home on Monday.

The complaints of a bodily nature of which I have been the subject remind me of the coming close of my time of service here. I have been occasionally led to look closely on eternity; and I have felt the clinging to wife and family more powerful than I had conceived, or than I fear it ought to be, were my mind sufficiently spiritual and my heart more in heaven. There are various services too which I should wish to render to the cause of Christ before the close, which I *fancy* might be of some use. But of this HE is the best judge, and many a time He seems to act as if he meant to show us how vain are *our* principles of calculation. O for grace so to serve him as that we may be ready to give our account with joy! O my friend, when I muse on the Holy Majesty of the Being with whom I have to do, I feel an awful shrinking—how can it be that so worthless a creature should find a place in his presence, to dwell in the light of his ineffable purity! I am *oppressed* with the thought. O what would become of me, but for rich, and sovereign, and *infinitely condescending* grace! O that, "having preached to others I may not myself prove a cast-away!" Pray for me—for your ever fondly attached friend.

To Mrs. Dewar.

Glasgow, April 19th, 1832.

That awful malady the cholera still lingers with us, decreasing on the whole, but fluctuating; and in one or two villages in our neighbourhood very fatal. From Musselburgh, it will please you to learn, we have heard of very favourable results in regard to general impression and special spiritual conversion having arisen from it. Should such be the consequence everywhere, it may ultimately prove a blessing both to individuals and to the community. O that in the way of his judgments we and others may learn to wait upon the Lord; that the desire of our hearts may be to his name and to the remembrance of him.

What a farrago of strange doctrines is at present in circulation and discussion. Men seem to be set on the *qui vive* to catch at everything that is

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novel and extravagant. And what a degradation to the divine dignity of the Spirit of the living God to have his name associated with the miserable ravings that are passing under the designation of "the tongues." Truly, if supernatural gifts are ever again to be bestowed upon the Church of God, we may be assured it will be in some less questionable shape than any in which they have yet been presented to the public by our modern miracle-mongers. Excuse my using terms that sound disrespectfully. I cannot treat these pretensions in any other way, except indeed when I think of the mischievous nature of the general impression they are fitted to have on the minds of an infidel and ungodly world. Let but one of the so-called tongues be authenticated, as all were that were spoken on the day of Pentecost, and then we may be warranted to pay them some attention. Till then, it is all "leather and prunella," good for nothing, serving no end but to expose miracles themselves and all religion to scorn. As to some of the doctrinal errors that are abroad, I cannot think of them but with a heart weighed down and "pierced through with many sorrows," and of these chiefly that which affirms, with an absurdity and self contradiction, such as it would be no difficult matter to expose would the horror of its awfulness allow one sufficient composure for arguing the point, that He who united in his person the natures of God and man had in union with Deity a carnal mind at enmity with God! for to this much it must come if it comes to anything at all. The explanations which some have given of it bring it to nothing at all, while the statements of others have been such as to fill my whole soul with agony and with amazement at the incomprehensible constitution of those minds that could associate such ideas together for a moment.

The following letters were written whilst in the south, or in reference to his journey after his return home.

To Miss Agnes Wardlaw.

Peckham Rye, July 14th, 1832.

My dearest Girl—I think you will be gratified by receiving a letter to yourself from a papa whom you so fondly love, and to whom the assurance of his children's affection is one of the principal zests of his earthly life. I trust my beloved child will never forget, amidst the pleasure which she derives from the fondness of her earthly parents, that there is a Father to whom the devoted attachment of her heart is, by an infinitely higher obligation, due. Your heart must be God's, my dear Agnes—God's supremely, and your papa's and mamma's subordinately. However high the value they attach to a place in their children's hearts for themselves, it would be a sad drawback on the happiness this was fitted to inspire, were the attachment such as to exclude God. He, my love, must have *the throne*. He will occupy no inferior place. He is entitled to it; and it would be a presumptuous insult to him to offer him another. Your earthly parents must have only the next place to him; and it will be the chief joy of their lives to see their children enthroning God in their hearts, while they give *them* the second seat—the first among the objects of their natural affections in this world. Yes, dearest child, I can say with sincerity, both for your mamma and myself—"We have no greater joy than to see our children walking in truth." It has always been a source of delight to us to witness any of those

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early symptoms of tenderness of heart towards God and divine things, which have presented to their minds the pleasing hope of the dear objects of their parental love "living to the Lord" while here, and being found of *his* in the day when He "maketh up his jewels." The thought of even the possibility of any one of them being amissing amongst these divinely purchased and divinely precious jewels, is a thought of agony. Take you your place, beloved child, where Mary sat—at the Saviour's feet, to receive his instructions, that he may say the same thing of you that he said of her, "Mary hath chosen that good part which shall never be taken from her." It is not what will recommend you in the world that should be prized by you, but what will recommend you to Him who has said, "I love them that love me, and they that seek me early shall find me." You are just at that period of life, my child, when the vanities of the world are in danger of laying hold of your heart, and the wicked one avails himself of the tendency. Beware of them. Whenever you feel the rising in your heart of any emotions of vanity, recollect that whatever it is which produces it, *you have from God*, and that God is entitled to the first use of all his own gifts. Your voice, for example, who gave it you? Who tuned it? Was it yourself, or was it He? In whose praise, then, should it be used? If it has more in it of the sweetness of the nightingale than the scream of the peacock, be thankful, but do not be vain. While I delight to hear you sing your "Pretty Moth," you must not forget the lesson which the little song teaches. But I am forgetting myself. You will not understand me, my sweet child, as reproving, but as cautioning; and you know the spirit in which a father's counsel is given. I had no idea, when I sat down to write, of what was to come.

Through the "kind hand of our God upon us," we have hitherto been preserved; and I trust that in due time we shall find you all in that state of well-being in which parents wish to find children so very dear to them.

It will gratify you all to hear that Dr. Lawrie has arrived two or three days ago from India, and has brought the most pleasing and satisfactory accounts of dear John and Marianne and their little boy. Not expecting to find us here, he had brought from Portsmouth only his letters and packages for the Reids, leaving *ours there*. He will be down to Scotland much about the same time with ourselves.—Your own fond papa,

RALPH WARDLAW.

To MISS WARDLAW.

Armitage, July 28th, 1832.

My beloved girl will see from the above date where we now are. We came to our friends here, having previously advertised them of our intention, on Thursday evening; and we set out for Nottingham in about two hours from the time of my writing, which is half-past ten. I have said *we*. But whom do you think this *we* includes? It will delight you to learn that we carry your dear friend *Mary* with us. I had mentioned in my letter our wish that she should accompany us, and the decision being left to herself she jumped at the proposal, as you can readily fancy, like King Jemmie's "cock at a grozart." So you will be pleased to have every thing in readiness by the end of next week, for *her* comfortable reception as well as ours.

Your mamma and I came from Poole to Bath on Monday. We called on Mr. Jay, but missed him. We met him, however, on his way home from meeting. He was exceedingly glad to see us, and as kind as possible. Next

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morning he was at the coach door as we passed his house, to hand in a little basket of fruit, covered with a paper, and inscribed to "Dr. and Mrs. Wardlaw—planted, gathered, and presented by Wm. Jay." This was one of those little matters of which the value lies, not in themselves, but in the state of mind of which they are the expression. This imparts to even a few cherries and gooseberries an adventitious value. Early gathered and personally presented, they testified that friendship which, in all its forms, is the great sweetener of life, and the failures of which are among its bitterest ingredients. And if the friendly regards of fellow-creatures serve so much to enrich the sweets, and to sweeten the bitters of life, how much more the friendship of Him whose love never fails—who, whatever may be the various aspects which his providential dealings present, is himself "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever"—"resting in his love," and "making all things to work together for good" to those who are its happy objects—to whom, in infinite condescension and grace, he hath said—"I have called you *Friends*." O may we, my dearest child, be amongst the blessed ones to whom this designation truly belongs. Then all will be well. All our crosses will, under his kind, and wise, and mighty control, contribute to our ultimate happiness, in working out for us the great purposes of his mercy. But I must forbear.

From Nottingham we proceed on Monday to Sheffield, and on Tuesday from Sheffield to Manchester, and thence, either by land or by sea, as the weather and other considerations may direct, for Glasgow. We cannot be with you before Saturday. If Gilbert* is still in Glasgow, and able to officiate, I hope he will take either one or two parts of the services of the following day. If he is gone, some other arrangement must be made.

I continue remarkably well, and your mamma continues to enjoy health, and to gain strength. Blessed be the God of all our mercies!

Looking forward to the near prospect of seeing you "face to face," and, as it is in the original, "mouth to mouth." I remain, &c.

RALPH WARDLAW.

To Miss Reid, Peckham Rye.

Glasgow, August 6th, 1832.

My very dear Friend—I should have written a few lines from Nottingham, but as we only reached that place on the Saturday evening, and, after my preaching twice for Mr. Gilbert's chapel on Lord's day, left it on the Monday morning, it was out of my power, and when we were drawing nearer to the end of our journeyings, I began to think it would be preferable to defer writing altogether, until I could tell you of our having reached our home in safety. This is now, through divine goodness, happily the case, as we arrived here on Saturday evening between seven and eight o'clock; and you will be gratified to learn, found all the members of our beloved family in wonted health and comfort. "Bless the Lord, O my soul." We have great cause for thankfulness for the merciful preserving care that has attended us in all our movements from place to place, and has shielded us from all external accident and harm, as well as preserved us in the enjoyment of a comfortable measure of health. I have reason to speak thus, for

* The Rev. Gilbert Wardlaw, Professor of Theology at Blackburn Academy.

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my beloved partner improved in vigour on our journey, and with regard to myself, although not free of the tendencies in my chest which had annoyed me, my general health was good, and such as allowed of my enjoying the varieties of such a journey with cheerfulness, and of fulfilling such duties as devolved upon me by the way, without injury, at least without any such injury as made me at the time sensible of its existence. If in any degree I have suffered, it must have been insensibly, which is not impossible, but which, I know well, you and all our dear Peckham friends will join in wishing, hoping, and praying, may not prove to have been the case. I preached in the afternoon of yesterday, happy in being restored to my people, and I have every reason to believe, making them happy in the sight and hearing again of their pastor. In the evening I applied a few leeches, as a precautionary measure, in much the same circumstances as at Peckham Rye. I fondly trust that by the divine blessing upon care and such means as may be employed, I may be able to throw off the tendencies in question and to resume my studies and labours in due time in their full extent. O! it is a short time even at the longest that one has to serve such a master!—a master so worthy of the unreserved devotion of soul and body, to whom I lie under obligations so incalculable, and whom it distresses me to think of having hitherto served so unworthily, amidst failures so numberless, and provocations so aggravated, that the very thought of appearing before him to give in my account (I write it with the tears of deep emotion), is quite appalling to my spirit. O my blessed Lord! thou hast indeed much to pardon, and little to commend. Even my best services have too often, in their motives and principles, been of a mixed and dubious character. My only hope is in the "multitude of thy mercies." O "cast me not away from thy presence."

Having, after parting from your beloved father and *Fred.* reached Southampton in the afternoon, we had to stop there for the night, and proceed to Poole on the following morning. At Southampton we saw Mr. Adkins, who has been ill ever since his return last year from Scotland, and who still looks very unhealthy, but who seems in a state of begun convalescence. We found Mr. Durant and other Poole friends well, and having been prevented by the absence of the friends at Christ's Church, and other causes from going there, we staid at Poole till Monday morning. On Monday we reached Salisbury in time to get a view of the cathedral, and before proceeding by the coach to Bath. We stopped two nights at Birmingham, and two at Mr. Birch's, Armitage; and on Saturday, taking Anna's friend Miss B. with us on a visit here, proceeded to Nottingham; thence on Monday to Sheffield; on Wednesday morning to Manchester; on Friday from Manchester to Carlisle; and on Saturday, from Carlisle home. We missed Mr. Smith at Sheffield, who had gone to Wales for a recreative trip. Mr. M'All of Manchester we found considerably better and able to officiate again.

I am sorry to say that for eight or ten days the cholera here has been worse than ever. Last night's report was somewhat more favourable. O for grace to leave all our lives and interests in divine hands.—Yours most affectionately,

RALPH WARDLAW.

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To the Rev. D. S. Wayland.

Glasgow, November 14, 1832.

My dear Friend— . . . . . .

I have the pleasure of informing you that my health has been decidedly improved since I was with you—I mean not so much my general health (which was never much impaired) as the particular symptoms of chest disorder with which I was annoyed. These are greatly abated—I may say almost gone; so that, after having for a time taken only one service on the Lord's Day I recently resumed my usual amount of labour. I regret to say, however, and I know I shall enjoy your tender sympathy, when I mention that within the last eight or ten days my dear wife has been very poorly. Every thing is doing well, however, in the course of medical treatment she is undergoing; and I fondly trust that all may soon again be well. Pray for us, that so it may please our heavenly father, and that all the corrective strokes of his gracious hand may be richly sanctified!

I received your volume of Sermons some little time ago. I have been greatly pleased with them, both as to matter and manner. I like them for their clearness of evangelical sentiment, their affectionate faithfulness, their discrimination of character, their closeness of practical appeal, as well as their chasteness of taste and correctness and elegance of style. I write what I really feel; and I am sure you know me too well to suspect my sincerity. I hope you will be pleased with the different articles in the parcel accompanying this—inscribed to yourself, to Mrs. W., and to your young folks. I am beginning to prepare for a series of Lectures, which are proposed to be delivered in London in the month of April, as the first in a series (on a similar footing with the Bampton and others of like nature) instituted by the Committee of the Congregational Union and Library in the metropolis. I have the choice of my own subject; and intend them to be chiefly on the origin and rule of moral obligation, &c. It is in this way possible, if it shall please God to spare me, that I may see you *en passant*, either on my way *to* or *from* London.

May the Great Head of the Church crown your ministerial labours with all encouraging success! O for grace to be more and more faithful to the honour of the Saviour and the interests of the souls of men. It is a most cheering assurance in the prosecution of one's ministry to have the assurance of the God of faithfulness and truth, that his word *shall not* return to him void! Let us look with greater simplicity of dependence and firmness of confidence to Him who hath said, "Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit;" and he will give us to experience the truth of another of his sayings, "Him that honoureth me I will honour!"

The statement towards the conclusion of this letter indicates what formed Dr. Wardlaw's principal occupation, next to his official duties, for the ensuing winter and spring. The Congregational Lecture had just been founded through the liberality of a few individuals, who were anxious to assist in this way in drawing out the learning and talents of Congregational ministers

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and professors in the discussion of questions of a nature not likely to be introduced into the pulpit, or in which the general public were not sufficiently interested to procure for an elaborate discussion of them through the press a remunerating sale. Having resolved to found such a Lecture, the parties engaged in the proposal were extremely anxious that a good beginning should be made, and with this desire they, with one consent, turned their eyes on Dr. Wardlaw as the man of all others most likely to inaugurate their scheme with eclat. After some hesitation he acceded to their request, and on his return from his visit to the south, gave himself to the preparation of such a course as should accord with the proposed design. The subject he selected was the all-important one of moral obligation. As first announced, the theme of his course stood as follows:—"The Foundation and Rule of Moral Obligation; or Systems of Philosophical Morality tried by Christian Principles, and especially by the Doctrine of Revelation respecting the Present State and Character of Human Nature; with an Examination of the True Principles of Morals and the Peculiar Motives by which Christianity enforces them." This he subsequently exchanged for the shorter and pithier but less accurate title of "Christian Ethics"—a title which is objectionable on the ground that it applies rather to the system of morals sanctioned by Christianity than to a testing of theories of moral obligation by the dictates of Revelation.

With a subject of such importance in hand, it would have been well could Dr. Wardlaw have secured a season of uninterrupted quiet for the meditation and composition of his Lectures. That, however, in the midst of the many demands made necessarily upon his time and energies in such a city as Glasgow, would have been impossible at any time; how much more at a time when a torrent of controversy had burst upon the community which was agitating the minds of all men, even to those least interested in questions of a religious nature! Never, perhaps, had such a season of debate and question been known before in Scotland. On every hand discussions—keen, acute,

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sometimes violent, always earnest, prevailed. The Apocrypha controversy had not yet quite raged itself to sleep. The controversy about assurance and universal pardon was still going forward. The controversy about the humanity of Christ, about miracles and gifts of tongues, was at its height. The anti-slavery controversy was becoming every day more vehement and absorbing. And in the midst of this already crowded arena a new controversy suddenly arose, more intense and bitter than any of the others—one which out-lived all the others, and which has left its mark on the framework of Scottish society too deeply to be soon obliterated. I refer to the Voluntary controversy which sprang up in 1830, and in which Dr. Wardlaw took so prominent a part for many years.

It would be irrelevant to the design of this work, were I to trace with any great minuteness the history of this famous strife. A few remarks, however, on the subject of dispute, as well as a few statements regarding the circumstances which gave rise to the controversy, appear to me to be demanded in order to a just apprehension of Dr. Wardlaw's position and course in relation to it.

The Voluntary controversy respected the establishment of Christianity by the civil magistrate; more specifically, it was occupied in discussing the lawfulness and expediency of the State's selecting a particular ecclesiastical body, bestowing on it the royal or parliamentary sanction, providing for the support of its ministers, and the carrying on of its functions from the public funds, and in other ways lending to it the aids of civil power and authority for sacred purposes. Now the question thus brought up for discussion may be viewed in connection with three different departments of human knowledge, under each of which it is to be determined on grounds peculiar to that department, and under each of which it is possible for a different decision to be arrived at by the inquirer.

I. It may be viewed as a question in Political Economy. Here the point for discussion is whether it is for the interest of the State that religion should, like an article of commerce, be

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left to the operations of the ordinary law of supply and demand for its support; or, as being an article of a peculiar kind—having especially *this* peculiarity, that as there is no natural demand for it on the part of man, it is only by furnishing the supply that the demand can be created—it is not expedient and necessary to bestow a bounty on the teaching of religion by endowing its ministers.*

II. It may be viewed as a question in Political Philosophy. Here the point at issue respects the right and duty of governments to interfere with the religious instruction of the community; and the answers given to this divide the disputants into three parties. The first consists of those who absolutely deny to civil government any such right, and denounce their assuming it as an act of tyranny and injustice. The second consists of those who, while they admit that the religious education of the community does not fall directly within the province of civil government, yet think that, as such an institution has many admirable facilities for the efficient conducting of the religious instruction of its subjects, it is both lawful and expedient that it should take measures for that end. The third consists of those who hold that civil governments are bound, as under Christ, to do homage to Him by using their authority and resources for the support and propagation of his religion. †

III. It may be viewed as a question of Scriptural Enactment. Here the matter is brought to the decision of the Bible, and the point argued is whether on the one hand the will of God as expressed there positively forbids the establishment of the church by the state, or, if not forbidding this, yet has made arrangements for the church which supersede the necessity, and thereby render improper the act on her part of accepting any state aid; or on the other hand inculcates principles which go to show that it is both the duty of the state to establish the church and of the

* See Smith's Wealth of Nations, bk. v. part iii. art. 3, on the one side, and Chalmers's Works, vol. xi. p. 46, and vol. xvii. p. 25, foll. on the other.

† See Dissertation on Church Polity by Andrew Coventry Dick, Esq., *passim;* Macaulay's Essays, vol. ii. 8vo, p. 493; Whewell's Elements of Morality, bk. v. ch. 16, 17, for representations of each of these three views.

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church to accept the advantages placed within her reach by the state. *

It will be seen from this that there was room for the opponents of civil establishments of religion attacking such institutions on very different grounds, and seeking their dissolution for very different reasons. So in point of fact it happened in the Voluntary Church controversy in Scotland. The body there united to assail the principle of an Established Church was by no means at one as to the grounds on which such an assault was to be made. Whilst not a few held such institutions to be wrong on all the grounds above stated, there were some who objected to them merely on economical and political grounds, and some who, whilst they held that economically they were not inexpedient and politically were lawful, yet regarded them as incapable of being constructed so as not to trample upon and render of none effect the laws of the New Testament regarding the polity, order and administration of Christian churches. This last party was chiefly composed of Congregationalists, who had all along on purely scriptural grounds objected to the civil establishment of religion, and who, when the light broke in with such sudden corruscation on other non-established bodies, were somewhat slow to admit that the part of it which they had not hitherto received was genuine and trustworthy. Of this party a considerable number stood aloof from the Voluntary Church movement entirely, deeming it incompetent for them to seek a purely religious end by means of promiscuous organization and political instrumentality. This I remember was at the time denounced as a timid if not a time-serving course. I would now for myself recall that judgment, for I now think that these esteemed brethren acted only consistently, and that they were in the right when they maintained that those who objected to Church Establishments on purely scriptural grounds, and had nothing to say against them either economically or politically,

* See Heugh's Considerations on Civil Establishments of Religion; Inglis' Vindication of Church Establishments, and most of the publications issued during the Voluntary Controversy in Scotland.

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